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THE PRIVATE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and Governor of Pondichery.

Volume III.

[PRICE, 3 *rupees.*] [4 *shillings* 6 *pence.*]

THE PRIVATE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI,

DUBASH TO

JOSEPH FRANÇOIS DUPLEIX,

Knight of the Order of St. Michael,

AND

GOVERNOR OF PONDICHERY.

A RECORD OF MATTERS POLITICAL, HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND PERSONAL, FROM 1736 TO 1761,

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, AND EDITED BY

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Volume III.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME III.

VOLUME III opens with the 19th October 1746, and closes with the 14th March 1747.

It contains very interesting details regarding the agreement for the ransom of Madras, the chief signatories to which were de la Bourdonnais and the English Governor, Morse, and of the subsequent repudiation of the treaty by the authorities at Pondichery. A paragraph, pathetic in its brevity and substance, which occurs in the second chapter of the book, records the adieu to India of de la Bourdonnais, who, but for the childish quarrel between him and Dupleix, would undoubtedly have captured Fort St. David, as he did Madras, and have thus dealt a deadly blow to the position of the English in Hindustân.

The chief feature of the volume, however, is the graphic account given in it of the gallant and effective stroke dealt, with a disproportionately weak following, and without artillery, by Paradis—of whose alleged previous history an amusing account will be found in Chapter XLV—to the strong force well supplied with cannon, which Maḥfuz Khân, the eldest son of the Nawâb of the Carnatic, sought to interpose between him and Fort St. George, to the relief of which, from an attempt at capture by the Muhammadans, he was advancing from Pondichery. This engagement will

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always be conspicuous in Indian history, not only for the promptitude and boldness with which the attack was delivered, but also as being the first occasion, as pointed out by Malleson, in his *The Decisive Battles of India*, on which the European trader assumed the position of a combatant, and as such, administered to an Indian chieftain, of the class whose every word had hitherto been to him a law, a decided defeat. The tale of the battle of Mylapore, as told in the Diary, forms attractive matter for any one acquainted with the scene of it and Southern India. Other points of interest mentioned, are the intrigues and negotiations which had for their object, on the one hand, obtaining from the French possession of Fort St. George, and, on the other, retaining it, and procuring the retirement of the troops of the two sons of the Nawâb of the Carnatic, which constituted not only a threat to Fort St. George, but also a danger to Pondichery ; the attack made on Paradis when returning from the relief of Madras ; and the utter failure of the first expedition sent from Pondichery, to attempt the seizure of Fort St. David.

The volume concludes with a description of how a second expedition, having the same object, and practically commanded by Paradis, though nominally under the direction of the incompetent de la Tour, who had been the leader of its abortive predecessor, was—when it had carried all before it, when every work had been captured, and when the storming

party had actually paraded for the purpose of assaulting Fort St. David, itself—compelled, by the appearance of a British fleet, to retire, spike the guns previously taken, and destroy much ammunition and stores; and was pursued, for a time, by troops which sallied from the fort. The story of these events is told in a very picturesque manner, the most striking figure in it being, to my mind, the French sentinel, who, standing on the flat roof of the recently captured garden house, and gazing seaward across the ever rolling surf of the Coromandel Coast, suddenly descries in the distance the hostile fleet and announces to those who are awaiting below the order to advance, the news which leads to their hasty and not very orderly retreat.

EXMOUTH, DEVON,
January 1914.

J.F.P.

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Wednesday, 19th October 1746, or 6th Arppisi of Akshaya.—The events of to-day were as recorded below :

At 8 in the morning, the Council met, to consider a letter received, at 11 last night, from M. de la Bourdonnais, and sent one in reply. The contents of this have not yet come to light. As soon as they are made known, I shall commit them to writing.

CHAP XXXI. 1746. Council replies to a letter from M. de la Bourdonnais.

A letter, despatched by Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, on the 4th instant [17th October], was received by me, at noon. The substance of this is given below:

Letter from Guruvappa Chetti.

Prior to the storm, the following ships lay in the roads at Madras; namely, the *Bourbon*, *Achille*, *Neptune*, *Phénix*, and *Duc d'Orleans*; also the *Marie Gertrude*, the *Princess Mary* captured off Madras, an English sloop taken four days ago, the sloop *Andravedi*, and about six or seven small craft. Owing to the violence of the gale, all had to put to sea. Up to the evening of yesterday, only those mentioned below had returned; namely, the *Bourbon*, *Neptune*, *Achille*, *Princess Mary*, and two boats—altogether six. These had lost their sails; their masts and rudders had been damaged; and their guns and a considerable portion of their equipment had been thrown overboard; but the goods which formed their lading suffered no damage. Those that were wrecked were all empty, and had no cargo on board. Only two ships—the *Neptune* and the English *Princess Mary*—had been laden, and both of them have returned, with but little injury to their freights. The ships *Duc d'Orleans*,

Specifies ships at Madras before the storm.

Those which returned.

And those wrecked.

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1746.

Phénix, and *Marie Gertrude*, the sloop *Andravedi*, and another which was captured from the English, four days ago—five sail in all—are those that were cast away. M. de la Bourdonnais proposes that such of his fleet as are now in the roads at Madras should lie up in the harbour at Goa, for protection from the monsoon, and he contemplates sailing with them for France, in the month of Tai [January]. According to the report of a person who came from the scene of the ship-wrecks, which took place between the roadstead at Mylapore and that at Covelong, there was a loss of 2,000 lives. A large number also perished, owing to wrecks of country craft. At the instigation of the cousin of Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti, the amaldâr of Poonamallee has forbidden his remaining there. He has consequently departed, and has reached Conjeeveram, giving out that he is proceeding to Arcot. The dubâshes of MM. de la Bourdonnais and de la Villebague, respectively named Kudaikkâra Nainiyappan and Vangâla Kumaran, have been deputed by the former to go to Pondichery, in view to baling up the goods ordered by him, packing his clothes and other property, and putting them on board the ship bound for France. Nainiyappan and Kumaran are accordingly on their way to Pondichery.

Mentions plans of M. de la Bourdonnais, concerning those which remain.

As also, reported loss of life by ship-wrecks.

It further intimates that certain dubashes started for Pondichery.

I sent a reply to Guruvappa Chetti's letter.

It is said that, up to date, 500 bales of broadcloth have been landed from Madras.

Muri Dâs, who came from Chandernagore at the same time as the Governor, has made a tender to the Deputy Governor of $13\frac{1}{2}$ scores of ordinary, and 26 scores of coarse, long-cloth. The Deputy Governor has offered the rate given for Dutch cloth, but Muri Dâs demands that for superior long-cloth. This not having been agreed to, the bargain has not yet been closed. Râmaiyan, of the fort, sent me word of this.

Tender made by Muri Das.

Thursday, 20th October 1746, or 7th Arppisi of Akshaya.—I have previously recorded that I had yet to learn the nature of the deliberations, yesterday, of the Council, with reference to the communication from M. de la Bourdonnais, received at 11 at night, of the day before. The following is the news communicated to me by M. Panon, who came to see me at the areca-nut store-house:

M. Panon comes to diarist.

M. de la Bourdonnais reported in his letter that he would hand over charge of the fort to M. d'Espréménil and those with him, and requested that competent officers might be sent to Madras, for the purpose of administering affairs there. He stated his intention of restoring the fort to the English, in the month of Mâsi [February] next, and desired that all matters requiring settlement might be seen to in the interval. In consequence of this, it was decided that MM. Barthélemy, Bruyères, Gosse, de la Selle, Panon, and Desfresnes, should, for the present, proceed to Madras. They are to start to-day.

Tells him what M. de la Bourdonnais wrote to the Council.

And what, thereupon, it was decided to do.

CHAP. XXXI.

1746.

Conversation between diarist and M. Panon.

I asked M. Panon whether the Governor had approved the proposal to restore the fort to the English, in Mâsi [February] next. He replied: "At all events, that is the present idea. But it is impossible to form any opinion as to what may actually occur. Who can foretell what will happen before we reach Madras? Therefore, one cannot say, with any degree of certainty, whether this is likely, or that is probable." He further said that if I required his services in any matter at Madras, whether in the way of procuring goods for myself, or otherwise, he would gladly oblige me; and he asked me either to write to him, or else let him know at once. I expressed my thanks, and politely informed him that I would avail myself of his kind offer, and would write if I needed anything.

Who offers to do anything that he can for diarist, at Madras.

I then repaired to the Governor's house, but finding that he was engaged at Council, and that the meeting was likely to last for four Indian hours more, I betook myself to the areca-nut store-house, and sat down there. The business of the Council, to-day, appears to be passing and signing the letters and accounts which have to go to France. It has been decided to despatch a ship to Mascareigne, the day after to-morrow, and she is being laden with all the goods intended for that place. The official papers which are to be sent to France will be conveyed by this opportunity, and they have consequently been signed, and prepared for transmission.

Council decides to despatch a ship to Mascareigne.

The Council came to an end at half-past 10, and the members returned home.

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1746.

Certain officials detailed to proceed to Madras.

A Council was held at 4 this afternoon, at which it was decided to send the following gentlemen to Madras; namely, M. Barthélemy, M. Bruyères the Procurator of the King, M. Desfresnes, M. de la Selle, and M. Gosse, who was a Councillor at Bussorah, and who has recently arrived. Their respective duties were also fixed. They started at 5 this evening. In the course of the next five or six days, M. de la Bourdonnais will deliver over the fort to M. d'Espréménil, and take all his ships to Goa, where they will remain during the monsoon. This information was furnished to me by M. Miran, and I asked him what had been the end of the agreement with the English. He replied:

They start at once.

Fleet to sail for Goa, after M. d'Espreménil takes charge.

"What is sold, must be held as sold. The stipulation, however, is that the fort is to be restored to them, on their paying, within six months, a ransom of 11 lakhs of pagodas; failing which, the arrangement becomes void. The fort, with all its contents, has now passed into the possession of the French, without any reservation. How, then, can they pay the ransom unless the money is procured from England? Even granting that they do obtain it thence, is there not the contingency of the ships bearing the treasure being attacked and captured by ours, on their way hither? In this event, their money must be regarded as lost. Under these circumstances, it is next to impossible that they will

What M. Miran said to diarist, touching the agreement to ransom Madras.

CHAP. XXXI.

1746.

Grounds for the opinion expressed by him.

either procure, or pay, the ransom fixed. There is, therefore, hardly any chance of our having to relinquish the fort. Should they offer to give a bill on the Company in England for the amount, such a proposal will not be entertained, as drafts tendered by persons in captivity are invalid. Such a course would not be unprecedented, for the English themselves held this view in a parallel case in their own country, and we will not permit ourselves to be imposed upon, by accepting a bill from them."

He states that M. Panon, alone, is not to go to Madras.

So said M. Miran, who also informed me that of the persons whom I have already mentioned, M. Panon, alone, has been directed by the Governor not to proceed to Madras.

I received, this evening, a letter addressed to me by Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, which ran as follows:

News regarding the future movements of M. de la Bourdonnais.

"M. d'Espréménil told his interpreter Kandappan that M. de la Bourdonnais would leave for Goa, in the course of five or six days, after making over the fort to M. d'Espréménil, and he directed him to have a table, and other articles of furniture, ready. This was communicated to me by Kandappan, who also told me that M. d'Espréménil purposed to write direct to the Governor, and have your brother

And the probable recall of Tiruvêngaḍam.

Tiruvêngaḍam recalled. If you agree to this, I shall cause the necessary steps to be taken. I request to be favoured with a reply, in communication with Tiruvêngaḍam."

Although my brother is thirty-four or thirty-five years old, he has no desire to acquire wealth, and no ambition to figure conspicuously in the service of the Company. He is, further, too retiring to hold any intercourse with Europeans. Far from accusing him, however, I can only worry myself with the thought that God has created him thus, and blame my own ill-luck. The young men of these days, become, from their fifth year, thoroughly filled with aspirations. The great desire for employment, coupled, as it is, with a strong craving to acquire wealth, that is evinced by them is quite extraordinary, and is beyond one's comprehension and powers of expression. The very opposite to this, my brother —who is hard on thirty-five—although naturally possessed of the gifts of high culture, excellent parts, guarded temper, winning manners, handsome presence, and fortunate birth, is not blessed with the courage and spirit of enterprise which are indispensable to raising oneself to distinction. It is this defect that induces him to cast aside all aspirations to greatness, and to prefer to remain at home in obscurity. This warp in his mind I attribute to the weak and fruitless star which, according to my horoscope, will cast its shadow over me for some months to come. I cannot but impute to this circumstance his desire to resign his post in that city of Kubêra [The God of wealth], which has recently come under our rule, and to return empty-handed. This bears out the predictions of astrologers that

CHAP. XXXI.

1746.

Remarks of diarist with respect to his brother.

Contrasts him with others of his own age.

And bewails his shortcomings.

Which he attributes to his [diarist's] evil star.

And regards as bearing out certain predictions of the astrologers.

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CHAP. XXXI. — 1746.

my career, up to my thirty-eighth year, will not be marked by success. I entertain no doubt as to the truth of their statements, and shall, therefore, not lay any blame at his door.

Ship sent to Madras to take cargoes of those damaged.

This day, a ship sailed for Madras, to take on board, so report said, the cargoes of the vessels which suffered from the storm.

The Deputy Governor has been absent from the Council for the last three days, apparently on account of indisposition.

Friday, 21st October 1746, or 8th Arppisi of Akshaya.—To-day, I did not pay a visit to the Governor, and remained at the areca-nut store-house. He lay in bed until half-past 8, after which there was a meeting of the Council, at which he had to preside. As soon as this was over, he retired to his chamber, where he remained writing letters.

Interpreter to MM. de la Bourdonnais and Villebague visits diarist.

During the time that I was at the areca-nut store-house, Kuḍaikkâra Nainiyappan, the interpreter of MM. de la Bourdonnais and de la Villebague, who had accompanied them to Madras, visited me. I greeted him, asked when he arrived, and whether his masters were well. I then questioned him about the recent storm at Madras, and its effects; and his reply coincided with what has already been recorded.

Conversation with him.

He tells diarist what occurred regarding certain goods.

After alluding to the spoliation of Madras, he said to me as follows: " M. de la Bourdonnais has deputed me to pack up the stuffs which you caused to be manufactured for him. As soon as he gave me instructions to this effect, I requested your brother

to intimate them to you. Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi informed me that he had received a reply for communication to me, and that you had stated in it that one half of the goods ordered was in readiness, and that the other portion could be easily completed, and would be delivered towards the close of the month of Tai [January] next. Considering it, however, inadvisable to give so curt an answer to a European, I told M. de la Bourdonnais that all the stuffs could hardly be ready so soon, as the weather was rainy, and the money for the investment had been advanced only recently; and I pointed out that the result of hurrying matters would be that the fineness of the material, and the dyeing of it, would be affected. He then suggested that they should, at any rate, be finished by the time that he left for Mascareigne, which would be in the month of Tai [January]. He has written on the subject to M. Dubois, who has therefore sent for you in connection with it. You need not, however, trouble about the matter. I will make the necessary arrangements to have the stuffs ready, within the prescribed time." I thanked him, and let him depart.

And says that he will arrange everything connected with them.

I then wrote two letters; the one to Madras, and the other to Chingleput, and returned home, at noon.

After I had rested, I went, in the evening, to the washermen's quarter, made inquiries concerning bleached cloths, and then proceeding to the laundry, ordered that the cloths should be carefully pressed

Diarist visits the washermen's quarter, and gives certain orders.

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throughout the night. Thence I repaired to the place of business of Nallaṇṇa Mudali, of whom I asked some questions, and finally returned home, at 7.

K. Nainiyappa Mudali details to him a conversation with M. Dubois relative to piece-goods for M. de la Bourdonnais.

After I had reached my house, Kuḍaikkâra Nainiyappa Mudali came to me, at half-past 7, and said: "When I informed M. Dubois of the probable date of the supply of piece-goods which were to be dyed blue, he asked why there should be any delay, for, under the terms of the agreement, delivery should have been made on the 10th of October. I replied that the contractors could furnish the goods even now, but that in that case they would not be so fine as might be desired; and further that, in consequence of a disturbance amongst the Poligars in the interior, there had been some delay in the receipt of the unbleached cloths. I told him that this had been communicated to M. de la Bourdonnais, and that he said that it would suit him if the goods were supplied in the month of Tai [January], as he was not leaving immediately. He then mentioned that he had not received any advice on the subject, and desired that at least five or six scores of pieces of cloth should now be furnished to M. de Rostaing. In answer, I informed him that, if required, even ten scores could be supplied to him. He was satisfied with this. It will be well if you speak to him some morning, on the subject." I said: "Very well," and told him that he might depart.

And also suggests that diarist should see M. Dubois.

Conversation with Arunachala Chetti.

Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi then visited me, and said: "There is no likelihood of any ships leaving for

Mascareigne. I will bring you 3,200 rupees. The Governor will go to Madras, and you may have to accompany him." After talking for a while, on general subjects, he went away.

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Saturday, 22nd October 1746, or 9th Arppisi of Akshaya.— This morning, I waited on M. Dubois, who addressed me as follows : "M. de la Villebague has written appointing me as his agent, and has requested me to take over, from Nainiyappan, all the furniture and cash in his possession. He wishes me to take charge of all the goods manufactured for him, and has sent me a letter addressed to you, giving instructions to make over to me such as are with you." He handed the letters to me, and I read them. He then said: "The date fixed in your agreement for the delivery of the goods ordered by him is approaching. You should make them over, for despatch by the next ship." I replied: "I have already heard that he will depart in the month of Tai [January] next. The order was only recently given. It will be very difficult indeed to make the cloths within so short a period, and, moreover, there are disturbances in the interior. When these facts were brought to the notice of M. de la Villebague at Madras, he assented to the delivery of the goods, in the month of Tai [January]." He said "very well", but desired that at least, the few blue piece-goods which had to be furnished to M. de Rostaing might, be given. I then asked M. de Rostaing what quantity was needed by him. He

M. Dubois tells diarist that he has been appointed as agent of M. de la Villebague.

And gives orders as to delivery of certain cloths.

Diarist's reply.

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Nainiyappa Mudali and he finally promise certain cloths.

replied that M. de la Bourdonnais had requested him to receive as many bales as I could supply. Nainiyappa Mudali and I thought the matter over, and considering that it would not be fair to say that none were ready, we promised to let him have forty scores of blue piece-goods, nine scores of pieces of long-cloth, and sixteen scores of pieces of coarse cloth. M. Dubois then said: "Please have them baled in your own warehouse." I agreed to this, and came away. Nainiyappa Mudali did me a good turn on this occasion, for which I am much indebted to him.

M. Dubois agrees.

Diarist's remarks touching N. Mudali.

After taking leave of M. Dubois, I repaired to my areca-nut store-house; it then being nearly half-past 9. The Governor was holding a Council, and it appeared to me that the business transacted at this was perusing and signing the despatches to be sent to France by the ship sailing for Mascareigne, and also signing the accounts which were to be forwarded by the same opportunity. The meeting afterwards dissolved, and the councillors returned home.

Apparent nature of the work done at a sitting of the Council.

A strong gale, accompanied by rain, blew on the 1st of Arppisi [14th October], the constellation on that day being Navami. When the south wind set in, the storm abated. The weather continued calm until this morning, when the wind veered to the north. The result is that the sky has become overcast, and there is again wind, with rain. In consequence of this the Governor, at noon, ordered the crews of the ships in the roads to embark at once, and set sail.

Stormy weather.

Ships in the roads ordered to sea.

At the Council held this morning, it was decided that the vessel bound for Mascareigne was, as I have already said, to carry the letters for that settlement, as well as the despatches and accounts addressed to the Directors in France, and that the three ships which had arrived together, one of which was the *Centaure*, should proceed to Acheen, to winter there. It was also ordered that M. Dordelin, the captain of the *Centaure*, should demand payment of what the king of Acheen and his merchants owed, and likewise of the amount due by them to the Company and the French nation. It was further determined that, in view of the neglect of the king of that country to remonstrate with Messrs. Barnet and Peyton, of the British war-ships which captured the *Favori*, on the 1st of Mârgazhi of the year Raktâkshi [12th December 1744], when she lay at anchor in the harbour at Acheen, he should be punished by being required to pay the value of the ship; and that, on his failing to comply, war should be declared. The three ships referred to above, which arrived early in October, after touching at Mahé, were ordered to Acheen on this mission. The north wind setting in, and the sky becoming overcast, all the captains have embarked on board their respective ships, and they are to set out on their voyage to-morrow night.

Squadron to winter at Acheen.

M. Dordelin to make certain demands of the king of that place.

And to require the value of the *Favori* of him.

The ships prepare to start.

This information has been furnished to me by M. Bussy. I asked him whether he was leaving for Mascareigne. He replied that of M. de la

This information furnished by M. Bussy.

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Further conversation between them.

Bourdonnais' squadron the *Armanau,** alone, would, for the present, sail for that place, and that the Governor had consequently advised him to take his departure, in the month of January. I then informed him that of the cloths ordered by the Governor, in the list given by him, all had been prepared, with the exception of twenty-four pieces of a coarse kind, and that these, too, would be ready in three or four days. Our conversation then turned upon the affairs of Madras, Fort St. David, etc.

'Ali Naqi sends a present to diarist, and word that he will visit him.

This morning, 'Alî Naqî, the son of Wandiwash Taqî Ṣâḥib, sent a present of a dress of honour to me, and another to Appâvu, with the intimation that he would come to my house in the evening. His nature is to offer an earth-worm as a bait, and to carry away a big fish. Being aware of this, I had, for the last four days, been declining his presents, but I was obliged to receive them to-day, as they were forwarded to me through Amânida Subramaṇiyan; and, I therefore, could not, with good grace, return them. I presented the bearer with 6 rupees, and in the afternoon, when 'Alî Naqî visited me, I made the following presents to him: One roll of ordinary red broad-cloth, one green silk cloth, four yards of velvet; total value, 56 pagodas. The dresses

Diarist's remarks on this man.

To whom, on his arrival, he makes presents.

* There was no ship of this name in the fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais. That which was sent in advance to Mascareigne was *La Renommée*. It has been suggested that *Armanau* is a corruption of this name. This looks far-fetched, but some extraordinary perversions of French, Persian, and Hindustani, words have been found in the diary.

of honour given by him were estimated to have cost Rs. 150. As he came in company with the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, I presented the latter with a parcel of ordinary red broad-cloth. After talking for a while, in an exceedingly polite manner, the visitors took leave of me, and departed.

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And gives his companion a small one.

In the evening, 'Alî Naqî, Razâ Ṣâḥib the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, and the Diwân Ṣâḥib, came to my house, and requested me to present their respects to the Governor, and obtain from him a permit to leave the city, as they proposed to return to their homes. I accordingly set out for the Governor's house. On the way, I fell in with a party of 113 soldiers, marching out, under the command of Captain du Bocage and an ensign. I inquired of those who followed the detachment, what their destination was. They replied that they were in the dark regarding it, but that the men were to go on to my choultry, for the night, and that the Governor would send them orders there. I shall write more about this when I receive further information in regard to their movements.

'Ali Naqi, and others beg him to procure a permit to leave the city.

On his way to ask for this, he meets a party of soldiers.

When I reached the residence of the Governor, I was given to understand that he was not at home, and had gone to the custom-house. At half-past 6, when he sat down to play cards, I presented myself, and saluted him. He asked what had brought me there. I replied: "The son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, 'Alî Naqî, and the Diwân Ṣâḥib, being desirous of proceeding to Wandiwash, have requested me to convey their respects to you, and obtain your permission

Finds Governor out, but sees him later.

On stating his errand, is questioned by the Governor.

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His reply.

to depart." He then asked where they were going, and for what purpose. I said that the son of Taqî Ṣâḥib, and the Diwân Ṣâḥib, being residents of Wandiwash, and Arcot, respectively, intended going; the one, to the former place, and the other, to the latter, and added that their object was to convey an invitation to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, the elder brother of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, as also to the wife of Ṣafdar 'Alî, and the aged Taqî Ṣâḥib. The Governor then alluded to the ill-will subsisting between Chandâ Ṣâḥib and the Nawâb, and expressed his doubts as to whether Chandâ Ṣâḥib's son was likely to remain unmolested by the Nawâb's men, should they chance to meet him. He asked my opinion. On this I said: "This is not all. When Chandâ Ṣâḥib was at Trichinopoly, he was in the habit of giving his creditors drafts on his wife. For two months, she continued making promises to them that their dues would be paid. By that time, the fort at Trichinopoly had fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas; on which she refused to meet their demands. Thereupon, the creditors, one and all, appealed to M. Dumas, alleging that Chandâ Ṣâḥib owed them not less than 10 lakhs of rupees. He, however, rebuked and dismissed them, with the remark that they had forfeited all claim against Chandâ Ṣâḥib, because the fort at Trichinopoly, in which they had served, had been captured. Nevertheless, they refused to depart, and seated themselves at the entrance of the house of Chandâ Sâhib's wife, awaiting payment of

Governor asks his opinion on a point connected with the son of Chanda Sahib.

Diarist refers to the debts of Chanda Sahib.

their claims. M. Dumas, who was informed by her of what they were doing, sent a body of soldiers to drive them beyond the city bounds. On the occasion of the Niẓâm's visit, some of those so ejected again urged their claims against the Paṭhân. When this was made known, an order to expel them was issued, and this was carried into effect. Some of the creditors betook themselves to Tanjore, Mysore, and places thereabout. These persons are now gradually finding their way to Arcot. If they become aware of the young man's arrival there, it might jeopardize his safety." He replied: "True; you had better visit the wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, present my compliments to her, and explain all the circumstances which you have related to me, informing her that you do so at my bidding."

CHAP. XXXI. — 1746. And to the expulsion from Pondichery of his creditors.

And says that these may cause trouble, at Arcot, to Chanda Sahib's son.

Governor desires him to explain this to Chanda Sahib's wife.

I accordingly departed on this errand. Chandâ Ṣâḥib's son, however, set out on his journey, with 'Alî Naqî and the Diwân Ṣâḥib. The wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, so I was given to understand, had by then, retired to rest. Consequently, I bethought me for some time as to the best course to adopt under the circumstances, and it suddenly occurred to me that the most suitable—any other being likely to give room for gossip, and question as to how the sentinels at the gate had allowed me access to the lady's house at such a time—would be to say to the Governor that, on my speaking to them on the subject, they expressed their gratitude, and explained that it was a long-standing custom

He departs to do so, and the son of Chanda Sahib sets out on his journey.

Diarist considers it unwise to go to the lady's house, at night.

And concocts a false tale.

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with them to convey invitations in person, on the occasions of marriages; that 'Alî Naqî's and the Diwân Ṣâḥib's visit was one of this character, the invitation being reputedly theirs; and that the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib proposed to travel, under an assumed name, to Wandiwash and back. I accordingly returned to the Governor, and made this statement to him. I took advantage of the occasion to inform him that the daughter of 'Alî Dôst Khân had been anxious, for the last ten days, to send some presents to him, but at my instance, was deferring doing this until after the departure of the ships. He replied: "You have done well. You know how I am overwhelmed with work. All business discussions should be postponed until the squadron has sailed." I said: "Very well," took leave of him, and returned home, at half-past 8.

Which he tells the Governor.

As also, that the daughter of Dost 'Ali desires to send him gifts.

Letters from Guruvappa Chetti to diarist.

In the evening, I received two letters written by Kanḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, from Madras. The contents of them were as follows:

Mention trade transactions of Messrs. Morse and Monson.

"The Governor, Mr. Morse, had by him 1,000 maunds * of silk-thread, of five different kinds; 300 of which have been purchased by people of Lâlâpêṭṭai, and by Andi Chinnaiya Cheṭṭi, for 31 pagodas, payable in six months. Fifty maunds belonging to the Deputy Governor, Mr. Monson, have also been disposed of, at the same rate, and on the same terms. All that remained unsold has been conveyed

* The Madras maund, which is that here alluded to, is 24·685 lbs. av.

to some place outside of Madras. Every one contrives, with the approval of Mr. Morse, and the permission of M. de la Bourdonnais, to remove his goods thence, in this way. Other matters, too, go wrong. It strikes me that, before the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais, everything will find its way out of Madras."

CHAP. XXXI. — 1746. And remark on the universal removal of property from Madras.

Sunday, 23rd October 1746 or 10th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This being Sunday, the Governor went to church, and returned, at half-past 8. Nothing noteworthy has been heard. I was at the areca-nut store-house until 12, and then repaired to my house. Having rested in the afternoon, I went, in the evening, to the warehouse, where I remained until 10, packing twenty-one bales of blue cloth, which contained eighty-four lots of twenty pieces each—nine bales for M. d'Espréménil, and twelve for M. de la Bourdonnais.

Goods packed for MM. d'Espremenil and de la Bourdonnais.

A letter received from Guruvappa Chetti, to-day, contains the following intelligence:

Further letter from G. Chetti repeats previous information.

"The merchants of Madras are engaged in sending away their goods, through the medium of Mr. Morse, and with the permission of M. de la Bourdonnais. This leads me to believe that, before the departure of the latter, the merchants will have removed from Madras whatever still remains of their wares. Mr. Morse is evidently bent on clearing out everything, and completing the business before M. de la Bourdonnais leaves; and with this motive he seems to urge the merchants to send off their

Remarks on Mr. Morse's conduct.

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1746.

And refers to the impending departure of M. de la Bourdonnais.

goods elsewhere, as speedily as possible. The condition of matters is in no way improved by the proposed return of Tiruvêngaḍam. M. de la Bourdonnais will leave Madras, in three or four days, handing over charge to M. d'Espréménil."

The letter closed with conveying to me the good wishes of Râyasam Venkaṭâchala Aiyan.

Diarist records unsettled weather.

The weather was cloudy and windy yesterday, but to-day it is quite clear, and the sun shines brightly. Last night, the sky was overcast, and there was thunder and lightning unaccompanied, however, by rain, for it was the south-west, and not the north wind, that blew. The weather continues clear, but one cannot say what its condition will be to-morrow.

Akbar Sahib anxious that diarist should visit him.

This morning, Gôvinda Rao informed me that Dôst 'Alî Khân's son-in-law, Akbar Ṣâḥib, was anxious that I should visit him. In the evening, he said that Akbar Ṣâḥib would send me an invitation, on the morrow, after he had procured some suitable presents to give me. The news furnished by him is that Akbar Ṣâḥib has been followed by Muḥammad Shafî, the agent of Vellore Raẓâ 'Alî Khân.

M. de la Gatinais and another wait on the Governor.

This evening, at half-past 5, M. de la Gatinais and another European, whose name is not known, paid a visit to the Governor, who is very angry with M. de la Gatinais.

M. Dupleix goes in his sleeping costume to the beach.

Monday, 24th October 1746, or 11th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, as it was cloudy, the Governor got into his palanquin clothed in the loose

trousers, dressing gown, and cap, which he wore when in bed, and proceeded to the small sea gate, in front of the Chetti street. Alighting there, he went straight to the spot where the boats lay, and saw that they were launched expeditiously. He then entered the custom-house, to inspect it. The *Bourbon*, which lost her main and other masts during the recent storm at Madras, hove in sight, under a jury main mast. On perceiving her, the Governor issued instructions as to the boats and supplies to be despatched, when she reached the roads, and then went home.

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The *Bourbon*, under jury main mast, heaves in sight.

When I was, as usual, at the areca-nut storehouse, I was informed that MM. Dubois and de Rostaing were at my cloth godown, in the new street. I therefore hastened there, and found them waiting. I saluted them, and conversed, very courteously, for a while. They did not request me to show the cloths, or inquire for whom they were ordered. They merely asked how many bales of the material could be made up. I replied: "About twenty-four or twenty-five, or perhaps thirty." They then made a note of the particulars of the goods lying there, and gave some instructions as to how the bales should be marked. When they were about to depart, I begged them to send some lascars to bale the cloths. They said: "We can hardly procure a single hand; but you can get fifty if you wish," and they thereupon took leave of me. Nainiyappa Mudali then arrived, and requested me to

MM. Dubois and de Rostaing come to diarist's cloth godown.

They ask some questions.

Make notes, and give certain orders.

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Nainiyappa Mudali hurries packing, and sends tickets for each bale.

have the bales made up as quickly as possible. He also sent me the following tickets for insertion in each bale : twelve, for blue long-cloth ; six, for coarse long-cloth ; ten, for unbleached long-cloth ; and two, for the Pondichery coarse checked cloth, making the total number forwarded thirty. I caused the necessary tickets to be pushed into the twelve bales which were closed yesterday, and arranged for the remaining eighteen being put into those yet to be made up. I then returned to the areca-nut store.

Diarist arranges for the insertion of these.

Peons, with letters to Fort St. David, waylaid.

Two peons from Madras, who were carrying some seven or eight sealed letters to the English at Fort St. David, were waylaid by the Company's peons at Âlankuppam. On being questioned as to their destination, they replied that they were on their way to Tanjore, and were the servants of Sambu Dâs. They were, however, seized, and taken before the Governor. From the superscription, in English, on the envelopes of the letters, he saw that they were addressed to Fort St. David, and having restored the papers to the men, he asked why they had lied. They replied that they had done so through fear. On this he said : "Very well ; you may go," and ordered a peon and a native officer to take charge of them, and leave them beyond the boundaries of Pondichery. When conversing with his wife, the Governor mentioned this incident to her. It is not known what she advised, but he ordered that the two peons should be brought back, and after again taking the letters from them, directed

Give false account of themselves, and are seized.

Governor questions and releases them.

But, after conversing with his wife, has them re-arrested.

that they should be confined in the prison attached to the court-house. Nothing else worthy of note transpired.

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The ships are being laden with provisions, such as rice, fowls, and sheep; and the goods for Mascareigne are also being put on board. The Governor is engaged with the embarkation of these, and with writing letters. The affairs of Madras also occupy his attention. I therefore remained at the areca-nut store-house until noon, thence proceeded to the cloth godown, where I enjoined on the men to hurry on with the work of baling, and I then proceeded home.

Shipment of provisions for the squadron.

Governor busied with this and writing letters.

I arranged for the delivery, to M. Cornet, of the nine bales of blue long-cloth, consisting of thirty-six packages of twenty pieces each, made up yesterday, and intended for M. d'Espréménil. He duly took charge of them. On examining two of the pieces, he was struck with their fineness, and asked Râmaiyan whether he knew the cost of the stuff. He answered in the negative. It is not exactly known what more M. Cornet said, but it would appear that he desired Râmaiyan to ascertain the price at which it was sold. At the time, he was in the company of the undersized Chetti youth who wears short Vaishnava caste marks, and is employed under Tadi Arunâchalam, and Chinna Parasurâman. The former of these, it is alleged, stated to the other, for communication to M. Cornet, that he had in his possession, and could furnish, cloths of better dye. Chinna Parasurâman

Diarist causes delivery of certain long-cloth to M. Cornet.

Who asks Ramaiyan what it cost.

T. Arunachalam's clerk offers cloths of better dye.

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accordingly mentioned this to M. Cornet, who then asked him the price of them. He replied: "Twenty-seven pagodas." Then M. Cornet remarked: "They could not be so broad as these. The dye in them is good." But Chinna Parasurâman exclaimed: "If directed, I will send for the cloths at once." To this, M. Cornet replied that he did not want them then, and would examine them later on. In spite of this, Chinna Parasurâman reiterated his offer to send for a couple as samples, and submit them for his approval. M. Cornet, however, dismissed him, with the remark that he would see about them on the following day.

Presses M. Cornet to see these, but is unsuccessful.

All this was told to me, at 7 at night, at the cloth store-house, by Lakshmaṇan, the headman of the fort lascars, when I was engaged in writing this diary. I have, therefore, recorded the incident in full. The etiquette in commercial circles requires that if a merchant happens to go to another when the latter is bargaining with a buyer, and if the purchaser inquires of him the price of the article which is being negotiated for, he should make it appear as though he was ignorant of the actual value. If further pressed, a well-bred merchant would, under some pretext or other, evade giving a reply. This being the case Tadi Aruṇâchalam's servant offered to supply cloths, although unasked by the European. His doing so was owing solely to pride and boldness engendered by embezzlement of the Company's money by Chinna

This related to diarist by Lakshmaṇan.

Etiquette obligatory in commercial circles, under certain circumstances.

Diarist comments on the conduct of the clerk.

Parasurâman, as he had a share both in the dyeing of the cloths, and the profits realized by the sale of them. It is this that caused him lose his head. They are under the false impression that M. Dupleix is unaware of all their frauds, which is, however, not the case. Startling disclosures—in ignorance of which they walk with their noses in the air—will be brought against them. Oblivious of the saying, 'To soar too high, leads to one's fall,' they display their aggressiveness in other matters, also. The result remains to be seen.

And observes that certain merchants are unaware that M. Dupleix knows of their frauds.

At noon to-day, the mail from Madras brought a letter from Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, written on the 8th instant [21st October]. The contents of it are as follows:

Letter from K. Guruvappa Chetti.

"This is what took place on the evening of the 8th instant [21st October], at Madras. The English Governor, Mr. Morse, accompanied by his Councillors, appeared before M. de la Bourdonnais, and executed all the necessary deeds with regard to the ransom to be paid by them. Thereupon, M. de la Bourdonnais affixed his signature to the document conveying the fort to the English, and also attested the other deeds containing subsidiary stipulations. The papers were signed by both parties. When each took possession of its respective deeds, a salvo of twenty-one guns was fired, and a feeling of happiness prevailed amongst those present. When these documents were executed, M. d'Espréménil was not present, nor was he asked to be, as those

This gives account of execution of the documents referring to the ransom of Madras.

And states that M. d'Espreménil was not present.

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concerned were sure that he would refuse to comply with their invitation.

"Since the return of Tiruvêngaḍam, I have written fifteen letters, but no orders have been passed on any of them."

Diarist's remarks.

It remains to be seen what turn affairs will take after the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais, and the assumption, by M. Dupleix, of the administration.

Sepoys sent out to capture a party of English soldiers.

This evening, fifty Mahé sepoys, under the command of the officer named St. Martin, were despatched to Ariyânkuppam, in view, so rumour goes, to waylay and capture 100 soldiers who were on their way from Madras. These were not at Ariyânkuppam, but were marching to Fort St. David, by a route beyond it. The sepoys were to move from Ariyânkuppam, to the point near Fort St. David, where the two roads meet, lie in wait there, and as soon as the soldiers appeared seize and bring them in.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FROM OCTOBER 25TH, 1746, TO OCTOBER 29TH, 1746.

Letters from Madras to the Governor and diarist—These mention a banquet to the English, and M. de la Bourdonnais—The transfer of the fort to M. d' Espréménil—The departure of M. de la Bourdonnais—And other matters—A friend tells diarist that Tânappa Mudali is in high spirits—Diarist's views as to the cause of the elation of T. Mudali—Which he thinks will not last long—Soldiers sent out to capture certain Englishmen—Parties of sepoys despatched to Ariyânkuppam—Remarks of diarist touching this expedition—He visits M. de la Touche—Notes his infatuation for his newly wedded wife—Sends a soldier to copy a letter for him—The *Bourbon* arrives, and the *Neptune* is sighted—What M. de la Gatinais said as to the cargo of the latter—Capture of the Englishmen previously alluded to—English soldiers landed from the *Bourbon*—What occurred when the Englishmen were captured—M. de la Gatinais imprisoned—Governor tells diarist that Maḥfuz Khân is attempting to seize Madras—And thus harass the French—And that he must go to him—Objections to doing this made by diarist—Governor admits these—But urges him to find some one to go to Madras—Diarist deprecates sending his brother—And says that a very intelligent person should be deputed—Governor asks him to name such a man—And, on his evading reply, suggests his brother—Diarist urges the illness of his relative—Governor bids him find some one else—Subsequent conversation—Governor having permitted diarist to leave, recalls him—And consults him as to the terms in which to write certain letters—Governor subsequently reads the drafts to diarist—Who compliments him on them—M. Delarche directed to translate them into Persian—Governor speaks to diarist regarding Maḥfuz Khân—At his suggestion, orders certain letters to be written—And talks with him of M. de la Bourdonnais and his brother—Diarist tells M. Auger the popular opinion as to the cause of the recent storm—And makes his comments—Governor's inquiry regarding M. de la Bourdonnais' interpreter—His egotistical remarks—Conversation touching Muttaiyappan—Governor speaks angrily of him—Diarist's extravagant compliments—The Governor is appeased—He gives diarist certain orders—*Sumatra* sails for Mascareigne—Installation of the head of a matt—Remarks of diarist—Governor asks him if he has secured a man acquainted with Persian—Objects to his nominee not knowing French—Asks whether Muttaiyappan is fit to be chief of the peons at Madras—And being satisfied, says that he is appointed—Diarist remonstrates, on the score of possible resistance at Madras—But Governor insists—Further objections fail—Diarist informs Muttaiyappan, through Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi—Whom he

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requests to urge Tiruvêngaḍam to return to Madras—Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi tells diarist what Muttaiyappan said—Also that his brother remains obdurate—Diarist tells Governor of Muttaiyappan's acceptance—And receives certain orders—Governor asks whether the letters to the Nawâb, etc., are ready—And directs diarist to write to Subbaiyan—The directions given to the bearers of the letters—Letter to the Nawâb states how the capture of Madras came about—Reminds him of promised assistance—Expresses astonishment at his son's seeking to assist the English—And states what the French will do, if trifled with—Forms in which the letters to the Nawâb and his son, were couched—Additions in that to the latter—Form and contents of the letters to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib and Sampâti Rao—The warning sent to the amaldâr of Mylapore—Diarist tells Muttaiya Piḷḷai what passed between him, and the Governor—He vainly attempts to induce his brother to go to Madras—M. Piḷḷai and A. Cheṭṭi also fail—Conjectures of diarist as to the cause of his brother's contumacy—Attributes it to the influence of his (diarist's) evil star—News of the ships which sailed for Acheen—Intimation, from Madras, of a Muhammadan inroad—And report, from M. Dordelin, etc., against M. de la Bourdonnais—Council considers these matters, and despatches replies—Governor inquires whether Mirzâ Alî Bêg is a kinsman of the Nawâb—Is told that he cannot be—Directs inquiry of the Muhammadans, at Pondichery—Statement confirmed — Governor directs diarist to write to M. 'Alî Bêg—Contents of letters—Muttaiya Piḷḷai given funds to recruit peons—Arrival of the *Achille*—M. de la Bourdonnais does not land—MM. d'Espréménil, and Gaudelaire, arrive from Madras—Diarist learns that they came by order of the Governor—He asks about the capture of M. de Bury's son—His informant relates what befell the party sent to rescue him—Attributes the raid at Madras, etc., to Peddu Nâyakkan—Tells diarist of the imprisonment of Mr. Morse—And says that he will visit Tiruvêngaḍam—He, further, mentions the escape of Peddu Nâyakkan—And alleges that all those who went to Madras enriched themselves—But acquits diarist's brother of having done so—Council considers the interference of the Muhammadans, at Madras—And the action of M. de la Bourdonnais regarding certain ships—The captains at Madras write to the Council—The reply—Governor tells diarist that a man who knows French and Hindustani must go to Madras—And makes a suggestion, which includes Muttaiya Piḷḷai—Who had told diarist of his reluctance to go there—But had asked him, for the present, to say nothing—Diarist making excuses, suggests Rangappa Cheṭṭi as qualified—And he is accordingly appointed as dubâsh—Diarist tells the Governor that the English instigate the Muhammadans—And being asked what should be done, makes a suggestion—Which is embodied in the despatch to Madras—Diarist represents the need for sending men to Azhisapâkkam, etc.—Madame Dupleix proposes to write to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân—Governor approves—But after

further consideration, she sends a letter to Maḥfuz Khân—Remarks of diarist as to the wisdom of M. Dupleix in permitting this—What Madame said to him when about to despatch the letter —His diplomatic reply—He suggests delay in sending it—Madame Dupleix objects—Diarist, unwilling to provoke her, speaks flatteringly—He then waits on, and converses with the Governor—And suggests his going to Madras, as once proposed.

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Tuesday, 25th October 1746, or 12th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning at 9, a runner from Madras brought a letter to the Governor, as also three to me from Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Chetti, one of which was dated the 9th instant [22nd October], and the others the 10th [23rd] idem. These contained mention of a banquet at which the English and M. de la Bourdonnais were entertained, and of the presence at it of M. d'Espréménil, who, on the same evening, perused, for about four Indian hours, the agreements and other documents executed by the English. They spoke too of the delivery, on the morning of the 10th instant [23rd October], under a salute of twenty-one guns, of charge of the fort to M. d'Espréménil, by M. de la Bourdonnais, whose embarkation on the *Achille*, at half-past 10, was announced by the firing of twenty-one guns; of the ship having remained in sight until the evening; of the conduct of affairs by M. d'Espréménil; and of the entertainments given every morning and evening to him by the English. Other matters, also, were referred to in the letters, which were in Telugu, and will be found transcribed below . . .*

Letters from Madras to the Governor and diarist.

These mention a banquet to the English and M. de la Bourdonnais.

The transfer of the fort to M. d'Espréménil.

The departure of M. de la Bourdonnais.

And other matters.

* Hiatus in the original.

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A friend tells diarist that Tanappa Mudali is in high spirits.

At about 10 o'clock at night, Nallatambi Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi came to me, and said that Tânappa Mudali, the brother of Kanakarâya Mudali, had been in high spirits for the last four or five days, and that there must be something at the bottom of this. I replied: "There is nothing. Ere long there will be a solution of the mystery." He exclaimed: "Indeed," and went his way.

Diarist's views as to the cause of the elation of T. Mudali.

The reason for his [Tânappa Mudali's] exuberant spirits is this. Of late, I have been engaged in shipping merchandise, and the Governor has likewise been busy with meetings of the Council, in connection with the doings, at Madras, of M. de la Bourdonnais; with discussing the measures to be adopted under the circumstances; and with writing despatches. I have therefore not been paying visits to him, and have left it to him to send for me, if considered necessary. This, coupled with the fact that no one has yet been appointed to be chief dubâsh, although, if one should be, the Company must be advised of it by the ship which will soon be leaving this, made him think that the chances were in his favour. This accounts for the audacity with which he abused Elaichiyappan, and ill-treated the weavers.

Which he thinks will not last long.

This frame of mind, however, will not last long: it will be known, in due course, how matters stand.

The following intelligence was received, at 9 this morning:

Soldiers sent out to capture certain Englishmen.

Hearing that some Englishmen, who were on their way to Cuddalore, were following a cross coun-

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try track to the west of Pondichery, the Governor, on the presumption that they would keep to that route, sent, on Saturday the 9th instant [22nd October], a detachment of 100 and odd soldiers to Kûnimêḍu, to intercept and capture them. But news was brought that they had taken a more distant path. In consequence of this, the Governor despatched a party of fifty Mahé sepoys and an officer, last night, to Ariyânkuppam. On receipt of the post this morning, another party of fifty sepoys, also under the command of an officer, was ordered to Ariyânkuppam, beyond which they were to lie in ambush, close to the road which leads to Cuddalore, and there intercept the travellers. How this expedition will end is not known. The English soldiers, too, number about 100, and are, I make no doubt, properly armed. To attempt to carry them off, by force, to Pondichery must lead to a conflict. The result remains to be seen.

Parties of sepoys despatched to Ariyânkuppam.

Remarks of diarist on this expedition.

I paid a visit to M. de la Touche, in order to urge him to write to M. Dumas. He is so much enamoured with the lady whom he has recently wedded, and his gaze so frequently wanders towards her, that he is hardly able to find time to write the letter. I anticipated this from what Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan frequently told me, but, to-day, I saw it with my own eyes. I stayed with him until noon. He requested me to send a European who could copy out what he had written. I agreed to oblige him, and came away. At half-past 5 this evening, I

He visits M. de la Touche.

Notes his infatuation for his recently wedded wife.

Sends a soldier to copy a letter for him.

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sent soldier Minot, in company with Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan, to M. de la Touche, and then repaired to the areca-nut store-house, from which I went home, following the road around the fort wall.

The *Bourbon* arrives, and the *Neptune* is sighted.

The ship *Bourbon* anchored in the roads, and fired eleven guns, to announce her arrival. The salute was returned from the ramparts of the fort. It was reported that the *Neptune*, too, was approaching.

What M. de la Gatinais said as to the cargo of the latter.

M. de la Gatinais told me that she had on board 1,500 bales of cloth shipped from Madras, and that as they were, to some extent, in a damaged condition, owing to the recent storm, they would be brought ashore, and bleached at Pondichery. M. Dubois asked him how many bales there were in the ship. M. de la Gatinais replied that, including broad-cloth, there would be, in all, about 2,500.

Capture of the Englishmen previously alluded to.

The English soldiers previously alluded to, together with two persons in a palanquin, were, when marching abreast of Kâṭṭarambâkkam, captured, to-day, by the French soldiers posted at my choultry, and were compelled to accompany them to Pondichery. It is said that they all have been placed under a guard, in the room at the western gate. I have yet to obtain an exact account of the new comers.

English soldiers landed from the *Bourbon*.

Twenty-five English soldiers, also, were brought ashore from the *Bourbon*, and they are confined in the hospital.

What occurred when the Englishmen were captured.

It is said that when the English soldiers from Madras were captured by ours, they informed them that they had a passport from M. de la Bourdonnais,

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but the French replied to them in very coarse * language.

M. de la Gatinais imprisoned.

At half-past 7 this evening, M. de la Gatinais was taken to the fort, and cast into a dungeon.

Wednesday, 26th October 1746, or 13th Arppisi of Akshaya.—A letter, written by Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti, arrived from Madras, this morning. Its contents were . . . †

Governor tells diarist that Mahfus Khan is attempting to seize Madras.

A Council was held this morning. The Governor sent for me, and said: "Mahfuz Khân, the son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Nawâb of Arcot, is attempting to take possession of Madras. He has detailed a small detachment of cavalry, to occupy Mylapore and the surrounding country. His desire is to harass us, by preventing all ingress into Madras, and by permitting free egress from the town of all classes of persons, with their valuables. It is desirable that you should go to him." I replied that I had something to say, if he would hear me patiently. "Well; what is it?" he exclaimed. I then said: "Mahfuz Khân is impressed with the idea that we have carried away immense wealth from Madras, and it is obvious that he is making all this disturbance, in order to obtain for himself as much plunder as he can. If I should present myself before him now, it is likely that he may detain me until I accede to all his demands. He knows that I possess much influence with you,

And thus harass the French.

And that he must go to him.

Objections to doing this made by diarist.

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* The actual expression is unfit for reproduction.

† Blank in the original.

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and that I am a man of very high standing in Pondichery. Supposing that he treats me as his prisoner, it will be a hard matter for me, and I shall be obliged to accept his terms. I will mention another point for your consideration. If you send representatives to treat with the Muhammadans, they will think that the slightest display of hostility on their part causes you alarm, and it will encourage them to bluster more and more, in the hope of extracting from you as much money as they can. Anyhow, it appears to me, at present, impolitic to treat with Maḥfuz K͟hân. I say so in deference to your superior wisdom." The Governor replied: "What you urge is true. It is not desirable to depute an envoy. But at least, find for me a Brâhman, or other intelligent person, to send to Madras. When the question of administering affairs there comes up for consideration, it is likely that letters written in Persian will be received; and when the Muhammadans approach Madras, some one will have to be sent, in order to treat with them. Procure me, therefore, a proper person, to accompany your younger brother to Madras." "My brother," I said, "is not capable of acting with tact in the present difficulty. The man who is deputed should be competent to advise even the administrator of Madras. It does not signify whom you have with you, for even the most incapable man, so long as he is influenced by your superior skill and guidance, will be taken for an able person. But as Madras is not endowed

Governor admits these.

But urges him to find some one to go to Madras.

Diarist deprecates sending his brother.

with a Governor such as you, my opinion is that a very intelligent man should be sent there. You may do as you think most proper." "Who is there here that fulfills your description? Consider; and tell me," said the Governor. I replied: "I do not presume to know more than you." He rejoined: "I do not know any man equal in ability to your brother. Think this over carefully, and let me know." "So please you", said I, "my brother has been tormented by piles from the day of his return from Madras. He has never once set foot out of doors since his arrival here." "I comprehend," exclaimed the Governor; "find a clever man who can speak and write Persian, and who will be to my liking." We then conversed for two or three Indian hours, on the affairs of Arcot, the doings of M. de la Bourdonnais at Madras, and the way in which he had plundered that city. To give the conversation in detail, would fill at least twenty pages. I here refer to it briefly, inasmuch as I have, elsewhere, on various occasions, shown what the nature of it was. The Governor again told me to bear in mind what he had already said, and permitted me to retire from his presence. I had walked as far as the gate, when he came out of the Council chamber, and called me back. I approached him; and he then asked me in what terms the letters to the Nawâb, and his son Mahfuz Khân, should be written. I gave him the heads. Telling me that he would have them written in

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And says that a very intelligent person should be deputed. Governor asks him to name such a man.

And on his evading reply, suggests his brother.

Diarist urges the illness of his relative.

Governor bids him find some one else.

Subsequent conversation.

Governor having permitted diarist to leave, recalls him.

And consults him as to the terms in which to write certain letters.

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conformity with these, he returned to the meeting. The work of signing the letters for France, and putting them into envelopes was going on apace. I thereupon departed, and proceeded to the areca-nut store-house, whence I went home. It was then noon. At half-past 5 in the evening, the Governor summoned me, and read out the letters which he had prepared for the Nawâb, and Maḥfuz Khân. "They are capitally written," I exclaimed; adding, at the same time, a few words more in praise of his composition. He informed me that he intended employing M. Delarche to translate them into Persian. I said that this was good. He ordered M. Delarche to be called. When he came, the Governor put into his hands the two letters addressed to Nâwab Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Maḥfuz Khân, which he had drafted in French, and desired him to translate them into Persian with the help of Madanânda Paṇḍit. During the time that they were both engaged with this work, the Governor again called me to him, and spoke to me of the misdeeds of Maḥfuz Khân, the son of the Nawâb of Arcot. In the course of our conversation, I expressed the opinion that it was expedient to write to Sampâti Rao and Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, enclosing copies of the letters addressed to the Nawâb and Maḥfuz Khân. "Do so," said the Governor. I accordingly went out, and having called Madanânda Paṇḍit, told him to draft letters to Sampâti Rao and Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and to make copies of those written to

Governor subsequently reads the drafts to diarist.

Who pronounces them to be excellently written.

M. Delarche directed to translate them into Persian

Governor speaks to diarist regarding Mahfuz Khan.

At his suggestion, orders certain letters to be written.

the Nawâb and Mahfuz Khân, for enclosure in the former. I set him to work, and was sitting outside, when I was again sent for by the Governor. I went to him, and he spoke to me of the doings of MM. de la Bourdonnais and de la Villebague; and of the storm, which he said was a visitation of the Almighty as a consequence of M. de la Bourdonnais' evil deeds. M. Auger now came. I said to him: "Have you heard what the people of the town say? It is very curious." "What is it?" asked he. I replied: "The popular opinion is that, because the kindly heart of M. Dupleix was made sore by the wickedness of M. de la Bourdonnais, God caused a storm to arise, and through it, pronounced judgment on that evil man. As surely as God, as we all know, has inflicted on the English the just punishment for their former misdeeds, so surely will He now certainly visit on M. de la Bourdonnais his sins. Just at present, God merely foreshadows what is in store for those who run counter to the wishes of M. Dupleix." The Governor afterwards ordered M. Auger to despatch a boat to Madras.

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And talks with him of M. de la Bourdonnais and his brother.

Diarist tells M. Auger the popular opinion as to the cause of the recent storm.

And makes his comments.

He next asked me whether M. de la Bourdonnais' interpreter had returned from Madras. I replied in the affirmative. "I shall," said the Governor, "presently work some wonders. Mark well. Have I not said that God will visit with His judgments those who have disobeyed me?". He continued for an hour, to talk to me, in this strain.

Governor's inquiry regarding M. de la Bourdonnais' interpreter.

His egotistical remarks.

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Conversation touching Muttaiyappan.

He then inquired how Muttaiyappan was conducting himself. I said that he continued to deserve his favour. He asked what advantage Muttaiyappan had gained by cheating him. I replied that hardships and sufferings were the only portion that had fallen to his lot. The Governor then exclaimed: "Look you; he never came, although I told you, a thousand times, to write to him, and you did all that lay in your power to induce him to return? But now he comes on a very fine errand indeed!" I said: "How could his misfortunes allow him to appear, when they had taken full possession of him? It is only now that good fortune smiles on him." "How so?" asked the Governor. I replied: "Good fortune dawned on him at the moment when thoughts of him entered your mind. It was an augury of good, shadowed forth by Providence itself." I paid the Governor other like extravagant compliments. On this he said: "My regard for you compels me to forgive any of your connections for any evil done to me." "I, and the whole of my family, are your slaves," I exclaimed, very submissively, "it behoves you to protect us all." M. Dubois now arrived. The Governor directed me to send, forthwith, couriers with letters to Arcot, and to select some one to proceed to Madras. I returned home, and chose a man versed in the Persian language, to accompany my younger brother Tiruvêngaḍam to Madras.

The Governor speaks angrily of him.

Diarist's extravagant compliments.

The Governor is appeased.

He gives diarist certain orders.

The *Sumatra* sailed this evening, for Mascareigne, with the mail for France. Prior to her arrival here, she had captured an English ship, which was on its way from Bencoolen.

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Thursday, 27th October 1746, or 14th Arppisi of Akshaya.—The following was the principal event of to-day. This morning, at about five or six Indian hours after sunrise, Turaiyûr Pachai Kandappaiyar, who had been leading the life of an ascetic on the Palni hills, was installed as the head of the matt * of Bâlaiyar, at Bommaiya pâḷaiyam. Owing to the incapacity of Bâlaiyar, who died on the 11th of Vaigâsi [21st May] last, each subordinate Tambirân † was allowed to exercise uncontrolled powers, and in consequence of this, the institution was very badly managed. The conduct, efficiency, luck, and quality of the administration, of the man installed, this day, remain to be seen.

Installation of the head of a matt.

Remarks of diarist.

I intended being present at the ceremony, but could not attend, as I was then very busily engaged. I, however, forwarded, through Ârumuga Paṇḍâram, two yards of red broad-cloth.

Diarist sends gift.

The Governor sent for me this morning, and inquired if, in accordance with his instructions, I had secured the services of some one acquainted with Persian. I replied in the affirmative. He then remarked: "The man whom you have found is

Governor asks him if he has secured a man acquainted with Persian.

* *Vide* footnote at p. 32, Vol. II.

† According to Winslow, Tambirân means a *quasi* monk, bound to celibacy; in token of which he wears red garments, wears his hair tangled, is generally learned, and is qualified to perform the Siva-pûjah.

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Objects to his nominee not knowing French.

Asks whether Muttaiyappan is fit to be chief of the peons at Madras.

And, being satisfied, says that he is appointed.

Diarist remonstrates, on the score of possible resistance at Madras.

But Governor insists.

Further remonstrances fail.

Diarist informs Muttaiyappan through Arunâchala Chetti.

not of much use, for he does not know the French language. You say that your brother is lying ill. Is it not necessary that we should procure a competent person who is versed in French? How is this to be effected? Make inquiries." I promised to do so. A little while after this, the Governor summoned me again, and asked whether Muttaiyappan was a fit person to be sent as chief of the peons at Madras. I said that he was. He thereupon said: "Inform him, then, of his appointment, and let him hold himself in readiness to proceed thither. Tell him to engage sixty men. You will, of course, defray the necessary expenses." I replied: "The present chief of the peons at Madras is powerful. Those of the surrounding country are, also, all men of influence, and are, moreover, his kinsmen. They will unite in offering resistance." "Indeed!" said the Governor; "let Muttaiyappan, however, go now, and we will hereafter see what is to be done." I interposed: "I have a representation to make. Please lend a ear to it." On his permitting me to speak, I said: "It will not look well if Muttaiyappan goes now, and has to return. It would not signify so much if he had remained in office. But as he once vacated it, and has since returned, he might be treated disrespectfully." "No," exclaimed the Governor, "the appointment is one which will suit him, and he will behave creditably." On this I retired, and having summoned Arunâchala Cheṭṭi, informed him of the

instructions which the Governor had given me, and directed him to go to Muttaiya Pillai, and communicate them to him. I also bade him see my younger brother, Tiruvêngadam, who is sullenly resolved not to return to Madras, and try to persuade him to proceed thither.

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Whom he requests to urge Tiruvengadam to return to Madras.

Having executed the commissions entrusted to him, Arunâchala Chetti returned to me and said: "I communicated what you told me to Muttaiya Pillai, and he replied that the best thing that could be done was to obtain for him the chief dubâshship at Madras, failing which, the next was the appointment as chief of the peons. He also told me that he would come and see you, on your return from attending on the Governor, and he asked me to say that you are to assent to whatever M. Dupleix proposes. I also tried to use my influence with your brother, but he is not to be turned from his purpose. He talks as if he had abandoned all earthly pursuits, and become a hermit. Muttaiya Pillai told me that he, too, would visit Tiruvêngadam, and try to induce him to change his mind." I went to the Governor, and informed him that Muttaiyappan submissively held himself at his disposal, and had authorized me to communicate this to him. He smiled, and said: "Then arrange for the speedy appointment of the peons, and do not, for even an instant, lose sight of the matter, as I have very much business to attend to. Always keep a vigilant eye on the affairs of Madras."

Arunachala Chetti tells diarist what Muttaiyappan said.

Also that his brother remains obdurate.

Diarist tells Governor of Muttaiyappan's acceptance.

And receives certain orders.

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Governor asks whether the letters to the Nawab, etc., are ready. And directs diarist to write to V. Subbaiyan.

He next asked me whether the letters addressed to the Nawâb, his son Maḥfuz Khân, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and Sampâti Rao, had been completed. I said that they had. He directed me to write a letter to Vakîl Subbaiyan, and despatch it. I accordingly did so. I afterwards sent, by a courier, the letters addressed to the Nawâb, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and Sampâti Rao; and forwarded the letter to Maḥfuz Khâṇ by another.

The directions given to the bearers of the letters.

I directed the first messenger to go to Arcot, and deliver his letters; and the second to proceed to wherever Maḥfuz Khân was to be found, out of Arcot, and hand him the letter of which he was the bearer. I then made a report to the Governor of what I had done.

Letter to the Nawab states how the capture of Madras came about.

The letter from M. Dupleix to the Nawâb ran as follows: "In consequence of the English having captured a ship carrying your flag, our King sent, on your behalf, some men of war, with orders to capture Madras, plant his flag there, and later on, deliver possession of it to you. The fort is, therefore, now in our hands. When you came here last year, you personally urged us to make war against the English, and promised to render us every assistance. You said that they must be rooted out of this country, and that our flag should fly everywhere. When your son Maḥfuz Khân came here in Tai [January] last, he said many things to us. It is therefore surprising that, standing, as he does, in the relation of an elder brother to us, he should now forget all that he then said, and should seek

Reminds him of promised assistance.

Expresses astonishment at his son's seeking to assist the English

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to assist the cause of the English. The French have always been a warlike race, and it is impossible to subdue them. It grieves us much that they should be compelled to turn upon your son, and bring to bear against him the courage which overthrew the English. If you, however, should act without due caution, we are determined to give you a proof of the power of our valor. We will then raze the fort and town of Madras to the ground, and will work out our own policy, as circumstances may dictate. You will behold all these things with your own eyes."

And states what the French will do if trifled with.

This letter, although in the form of a son addressing his father, was couched in abrupt terms of this kind. The communication to Maḥfuz Khân was in similar terms, and was to the same purport as the other, but the form adopted was that of a younger brother addressing his elder. The additions in this letter were, however, the following. In one place Maḥfuz Khân was compared to a man who had started to plunder a wrecked ship, and he was asked what he expected to find of value in the shattered planks. In another, the letter ran thus: "We hear that you have gone forth with a view to interfere, against our interests, in the political affairs of Madras, and to restore the fort to the English." The letters to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib and Sampâti Rao were written in the style of one intimate friend addressing another, and adjured them, on the score of their long-standing friendship, to save the son of

Forms in which the letters to the Nawab and his son were couched.

Additions in that to the latter.

Form and contents of letters to Husain Sahib, and Sampati Rao.

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the Nawâb from harm, by giving him suitable advice, and thus putting a stop to his expedition.

The warning sent to the amaldar of Mylapore.

The Governor directed me to write to the amaldâr of Mylapore to warn him, in the strongest possible terms, of the loss of friendship which would result, and the other consequences which would ensue, if he persisted in annoying the French when passing in and out of Madras. In pursuance of these directions, I forwarded, by post, a letter to this effect.

Diarist tells Muttaiya Pillai what passed between him and the Governor.

He vainly attempts to induce his brother to go to Madras.

I afterwards went home, where Muttaiya Piḷḷai joined me. I sent him and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to my brother's house, to see if he was there, and on hearing that he was, I went to see him. I communicated to Muttaiya Piḷḷai all that had taken place between me and the Governor, as recorded on a previous page, and he left the management of the whole affair to my discretion. I then used every possible argument with my brother Tiruvêngaḍam, in view to induce him to alter the resolve which he had made not to return to Madras. He replied as though he had taken an aversion to all earthly concerns. I tried, again and again, to persuade him to yield, but his resolve was not to be shaken. He was recalcitrant, and used provoking language. Such a thing never happened before. I put it down to my ill fortune. Having directed Muttaiya Piḷḷai and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi to reason with my brother, and attempt to prevail on him to go, I went home, bathed, and dined. Having argued with my brother until they were weary, Muttaiya Piḷḷai

M. Pillai and A. Chetti also fail.

and Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi came to me, after I had finished eating, said that he would not listen to reason, and begged me not to endeavour any more to persuade him. They then departed. My brother appears to be under the impression that I am pressing him to go to Madras, merely to suit my own ends, and to be altogether void of all desires and attachment to his own interest. But I attribute his unwonted contumacy, and his dislike for employment to my present evil star, the influence of which still operates on the current of my life. When this terminates, I dare say that he will be restored to a proper frame of mind.

Conjectures of diarist as to the cause of his brother's contumacy.

Attributes it to the influence of his (diarist's) evil star.

In the evening, the Governor's peon communicated to me the news that the five ships which sailed from here, for Acheen, had joined company with two of those of M. de la Bourdonnais, which were returning from Madras, and went to Vîrâmpaṭṭaṇam, where they all, so he said, are now anchored.

News of the ships which sailed for Acheen.

Friday, 28th October 1746, or 15th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the Governor's house. Just then the mail arrived from Madras, and brought news that the Muhammadans had plundered the washermen's depot, and ill-treated the person in charge, and that their horsemen were engaged in pillaging. The letters sent by M. Dordelin, and other naval captains, stated that M. de la Bourdonnais had detained the ships which the Council at Pondichery had ordered to Acheen, and had directed that they should sail in company with

Intimation from Madras, of a Muhammadan inroad.

And report from M. Dordelin, etc., against M. de la Bourdonnais.

Chap. XXXII. — 1746. Council considers these matters, and despatches replies.

his own squadron. The Council met, at 7 o'clock, in order to deliberate on these matters. After a while, the Councillors adjourned, went to church, heard mass, returned, drank coffee, and resumed the sitting, which lasted until noon. They then addressed letters to Madras, and to the naval captains.

Governor inquires whether Mirza 'Ali Beg is a kinsman of the Nawab.

During the time that the Council was sitting, the Governor sent for me and Madanânda Paṇḍit, and asked us whether Mirzâ 'Alî Bêg was a kinsman of the Nawâb. I replied: "Madanânda Paṇḍit considers that the names Bêg, and Mirzâ, are borne only by the Moghuls, and, therefore, that Mirzâ 'Alî Bêg cannot be related to the Nawâb, who is a Shaikh." I further said: "Madanânda Paṇḍit informs me that there are two or three brothers who are officers in the army of the Nawâb, and that one of them, Mirzâ 'Alî Bêg, is employed under 'Abd-ul-Jalîl at Vizhuppuram." He directed us to make inquiries on this point of the Muhammadans residing at Pondichery. Madanânda Paṇḍit went out to do this, returned, and confirmed what is stated above. I communicated his report to the Governor, who, without saying why he wanted the information, repeated the names three or four times, varying the pronunciation on each occasion, and he then asked us whether such names were common. We said that they were.

Is told that he cannot be.

Directs inquiry of the Muhammadans at Pondichery.

Statement confirmed.

At noon, Tânappa Mudali and I went to the house of Ariyappa Mudali, to condole with him on the loss of a son, aged three. I then went home.

In the afternoon, the Governor sent for me, and directed me to write to Mirzâ 'Alî Bêg, who is encamped near Madras, informing him that he should represent his grievances in person to the Governor at Pondichery, and not commit robbery or depredations at Madras, and that if he continued to act in that way, he would incur the serious displeasure of the Government. I wrote this letter, and sent it by Fazl Muḥammad.

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1746.

Governor directs diarist to write to M 'Ali Beg.

Contents of the letter.

Under my instructions, Vîrâgu went to Muttaiya Piḷḷai, and handed to him Rs. 150, to be expended in recruiting sixty peons. Muttaiya Piḷḷai sent me word that he had succeeded in obtaining a few.

Muttaiya Pillai given funds to recruit peons.

Two letters, both dated 12th instant [25th October], written by Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, from Madras, arrived to-day. I transcribe below the contents of these . . . *

To-day, M. de la Bourdonnais' ship, the *Achille*, announced her arrival, by firing fifteen guns. The salute was returned by one of the same number. M. de la Bourdonnais did not land. His baggage, and that of the ship's crew, was put on board. The Coffres also embarked.

Arrival of the *Achille*.

M. de la Bourdonnais does not land.

Saturday, 29th October 1746, or 16th Arppisi of Akshaya.—M. d'Espréménil, who is the official in chief charge at Madras, and M. Gaudelaire, who is employed at the Port Office there, arrived by boat, at 5 this morning; and as I was pondering over what brought them here, Kandappan, the interpreter

M. M. d' Espremenil, and Gaudelaire, arrive from Madras.

* Blank in the original.

Chap. XXXII. — 1746. Diarist learns that they came by order of the Governor.

of M. d'Espréménil, arrived. I asked him the object of his master's visit. He replied: "The Governor wrote to M. d'Espréménil, asking him to come to Pondichery. The letter was received at Madras, at 10, the night before last. We at once took boat, and arrived here this morning, before day-break. Prior to starting, my master delivered over charge of the fort to M. Barthélemy."

Diarist asks about the capture of M. de Bury's son.

I asked him what he knew about the seizure of M. de Bury's son. He replied as follows: "When M. de Bury's son was being led away by his captors, M. de Kerjean, the nephew of M. Dupleix, and M. Gosse, with thirty Mahé sepoys, were sent to rescue him. They were strictly ordered to avoid coming into collision with the opposite party, and to accomplish their object only by persuasion and fair words. When the sepoys approached, they were surrounded by a body of thirty horsemen and fifty foot soldiers. As, notwithstanding their repeated solicitations, M. d'Espréménil had prohibited all hostilities, on the score that he had no orders from the Governor of Pondichery permitting them, the two Frenchmen and the Mahé sepoys accompanied their captors without resistance. They were imprisoned at Mylapore, along with M. de Bury's son." "It is at the instigation of Peddu Nâyakkan," he continued, "that the town is now being pillaged. The robbery of cloths at the washermen's depot was planned by him. The ill-treatment to which the adherents of the French are subjected is due to his orders."

His informant relates what befell the party sent to rescue him.

Attributes the raid at Madras, etc., to Peddu Nayakkan.

He further mentioned that much valuable property had been carried away from Madras, and expressed curiosity as to what would happen in consequence of M. d'Espréménil's having left the place. He said that even this was a good opportunity for acquiring plunder. He next detailed the circumstances of the imprisonment of Mr. Morse and his companions. He also said that Malaikkozhundan has amassed much ill-gotten wealth. Having told me that he was going to my brother, to communicate this news to him, and induce him to go to Madras, he took his departure.

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Tells diarist of the imprisonment of Mr. Morse.

And says that he will visit Tiruvengadam.

Kandappan also told me the following: "One of the men engaged in pillaging the washermen was captured, and admitted that he belonged to Peddu Nâyakkan's gang. The moment that it was decided to seize and imprison Peddu Nâyakkan, he got wind of what was about to be done, and fled to the country in the vicinity of Saidapet and Mylapore." He further said that all who went to Madras had enriched themselves by unfair means, but that he and my younger brother, Tiruvêngaḍa Piḷḷai, alone, were, in that respect, guiltless. He, however, whilst acknowledging that some of the plundered property might have stuck to his fingers, exculpated my brother completely, and said of him that he came away with hands as clean as if he had washed them after eating Bengal gram.

He further mentions the escape of Peddu Nayakkan.

And alleges that all who went to Madras enriched themselves.

But acquit diarist's brother of having done so.

This morning, after M. d'Espréménil had conversed with the Governor, and gone home, a

CHAP. XXXII.

1746.

Council considers the interference of the Muhammadans at Madras.

Council was held. The subjects for consideration were the political interference of the Muhammadans with regard to Madras, and the following matter. The three ships which arrived at Pondichery, under the command of M. Dordelin, and two belonging to the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais, namely, the *Lys* and the *St. Louis*, had been ordered to proceed to Acheen. But M. de la Bourdonnais directed the captains of all these to accompany him to Goa. They at first refused, on the ground that they were bound to obey the orders of the Council at Pondichery. He thereupon summoned them to a meeting on board his own ship, and having explained to them that the instructions which he had received from the King's Minister gave him the complete command of everything sailing under the Company's flag, he put to them the question whether they meant to comply with these. They agreed to obey his orders, and those of the Minister. Thereupon, they wrote to the Council at Pondichery, to intimate that they were proceeding to Goa with M. de la Bourdonnais. Having considered this letter from the captains, the Council despatched a reply stating that they might do as they pleased, and that the Council would write to the Directors on the subject. Further deliberations were proceeding, when a letter from Kaṇḍâl Guruvappa Chetti arrived. The contents of this were as recorded below . . . *

And the action of M. de la Bourdonnais regarding certain ships.

The captains at Madras write to the Council.

The reply.

* Blank in the original.

When the Council was being held to-day, the Governor said to me: "You allege that your brother is ill. We must send a clever man, who knows the French and Muhammadan languages. Whom shall we depute?" I replied that I would find some one. The Governor remarked that Sînappaiyan would do well as interpreter of the Muhammadan language, if Muttaiyappan was sent. Now, Muttaiya Piḷḷai had, four Indian hours before this, communicated to me, through Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, his reluctance to go to Madras. He represented that the Muhammadans were bent on besieging Pondichery, and planting their flag there, that Madras was, at present, beset by from 100 to 150 horsemen, who had carried away M. de Bury's son, M. de Kerjean, and M. Gosse as prisoners, and that it was, therefore, not safe for him to proceed thither, unless accompanied by a strong escort; and he asked me not to say anything to the Governor regarding his willingness or unwillingness to go to Madras, until I heard further from him. I accordingly told the Governor that Muttaiyappan had written to various places in view to recruiting peons, and that there would consequently be a delay of some days before he could start for Madras with his men, but that Rangappa Cheṭṭi, who had accompanied my brother, was at present there. I added that he knew both the French and Muhammadan languages well, and understood, also, the ways of the Vaddaṇḍi and Lêdaṇḍi,

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Governor tells diarist that a man who knows French and Hindustani must go to Madras.

And makes a suggestion, which includes Muttaiya Pillai.

Who had told diarist of his reluctance to go there.

But had asked him to say nothing for the present.

Diarist making excuses, suggests Rangappa Chetti as qualified.

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And he is, accordingly appointed as dubâsh.

Muhammadans.* The Governor asked me whether I considered him fit for the office of dubâsh. I replied that I did. He then said that Rangappa Cheṭṭi was a clever man, and that he would appoint him. It was accordingly ordered, in a letter addressed by the Council to Madras, that Rangappa Cheṭṭi, who was there, was to be employed as dubâsh.

Diarist tells the Governor that the English instigate the Muhammadans.

The Governor now walked out of the room, and asked me whether it was not at the instigation of the English that the Muhammadans were acting as they at present were doing in Madras. I assured him that it was so. "What shall we do then?" asked the Governor. I replied: "If we hold out to Mr. Morse, and the other Englishmen who are with him, the threat that if they persist in invoking the aid of the Muhammadans, in connection with politics at Madras, we shall alter our present treatment of them, and subject them to indignities, they will write to the Muhammadans beseeching them not to interfere any further, and will also forbid their chief of the peons to cause trouble by colluding with the horsemen who beset Madras. If we do that, I think the

And being asked what should be done, makes a suggestion.

* No entirely satisfactory explanation of these phrases has been found. They are Telugu, and respectively mean *I do not want, sir,* and *No sir.* The language spoken between themselves (known by natives as the "house talk") by people of the Che i (merchant or trader) caste is Telugu, which was a good deal affected at Pondichery. The Lubbays—for an account of whom *vide* footnote at page 53, Vol. I—are, to this day, noted as being tight hands at bargaining, and as the two Telugu words used in the text frequently occur in the course of driving a bargain between native traders, it seems probable that they were applied as a nickname to the Lubbays, to distinguish them from the Hindustani speaking Muhammadans.

unrest there will be put an end to." The Governor at once went to the Council chamber, and having caused what I had suggested to be embodied in the despatch for Madras, returned to the room where I was. Then Tânappa Mudali suggested to me to represent to the Governor the importance of sending men to Azhisapâkkam, and other villages. I did so; and he informed us that he had despatched parties to those places with orders to tear down the flags that might be displayed there by the Muhammadans, and to seize those who attempted to display them.

Which is embodied in the despatch to Madras.

Diarist represents the need for sending men to Azhisapakkam, etc.

When M. d'Espréménil was talking with the Governor, at day-break this morning, Madame Dupleix was present, and said to her husband: "When Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân came here, he called me his daughter, and laying his hand on mine, expressed his desire to see us drive out the English, and hoist our flag at Madras. As he said this, I will now write to him." "Do," replied the Governor. After further consideration, they summoned Madanânda Pandit, at 6 o'clock, and bade him compose a letter purporting to be from Madame Dupleix, to Mahfuz Khân. The first draft was destroyed; the second was fair copied, and Madame Dupleix sent it by her mace-bearer, accompanied by a present consisting of two portraits, and two china plates, not worth four cash in all. Now, what shall I say as to the good sense of the husband who allowed his wife to write to Mahfuz Khân, without a thought of the fact that the rules of

Me Dupleix proposes to write to Anwar-ud-din Khan.

Governor approves.

But, after further consideration, she writes to Mahfuz Khan.

Remarks of diarist as to the wisdom of M. Dupleix in permitting this.

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Muhammadan etiquette regard with but scant favour a woman as a correspondent; and without considering whether a mere letter from her—wife of the Governor of Pondichery though she be—was the most likely means of diverting from his purpose one who, to punish the French for having, so he alleged, plundered Madras of 15 or 20 crores of pagodas, directed the commanders of his garrisons to occupy the suburbs of Pondichery, and blockade the town itself so closely that neither a basket of corn, nor a bundle of straw or firewood, can be carried into it unperceived; and who, at the same time, had ordered the blockade of Madras, and the capture of its suburbs, and was himself marching thither with that very object? When Madame Dupleix was about to despatch her letter to Mahfuz Khân by her mace-bearer, she called me to her, and exclaimed: "Rangappa, my letter to Mahfuz Khân will set matters right." "Who doubts it?" said I. "The only cause of delay is that your letter has not yet reached the hands of Mahfuz Khân. The moment that he receives it he will either order it to return, or he will put a stop to the war, and treat for terms." "Order what to return?" asked she. "His army," replied I. "That is true!" she exclaimed. I now ventured the remark: "Had you not better delay sending your letter until we see the effect of that of the Governor? I think that you ought to address the old man first, and ask him to write to his son." She replied, with a little severity in her look:

What Madame said to him when about to despatch the letter.

His diplomatic reply.

He suggests delay in sending the letter.

"When Mahfuz Khân came here, he, too, complimented me, by calling me his sister. What does it signify whether a letter is despatched by me, or the Governor?" Unwilling to provoke her on this account, and considering that it was none of my business to interfere, when the master himself did not see anything wrong in her proceedings, I flattered her without stint or measure, and took leave.

Chap. XXXII. — 1746. Madame Dupleix objects.

Diarist, unwilling to provoke her, speaks flatteringly.

I then went to the Governor, who conversed continuously with me regarding the movements of Mahfuz Khân, and the capture of MM. de Kerjean, and Gosse. I thereupon made a suggestion to him, saying: "Whoever goes, none other than you can bring matters to a proper conclusion. You once proposed that when Madras was captured, we should repair thither, remain a month, and arrange everything. Let us accordingly . . . *

Then waits on, and converses with the Governor.

And suggests that he should go to Madras, as once proposed.

* Blank in the original.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM OCTOBER 30TH, 1746, TO NOVEMBER 5TH, 1746.

Letters written on the previous night despatched—Governor gives sundry directions to diarist—Who communicates certain news to him—Tânappa Mudali and diarist ask M. Paradis for time to make a payment—His conditions—They promise a reply later on—Diarist consults a friend, and consents—A mixed force starts for Madras—Krimâsi Paṇḍit goes as interpreter—Muttaiya Piḷḷai accompanies it—Letters from the amaldâr of Mylapore, and Dastgîr Ṣâḥib—Contents of these—Governor jeers at the amaldâr's letter—What diarist thereupon says, angers the Governor—On which diarist withdraws—Governor subsequently recalls him—Bids him forward a letter to M. Martin—And then directs him to draft a letter to Maḥfuz K͟hân—The threats which this conveys—And the demand which it makes—Orders as to certain letters—Envoy from the Râjâ of Kolatri presents himself—What the Governor said to him—Pachai Kandaiyar visits Pondichery—Governor converses with diarist regarding the party at Villiyanallûr—Diarist relates what took place between the amaldâr of that place, and Abd-ul-Jalîl—And states that Mîr Ḥusain K͟hân has demanded large reinforcements—And has deprecated attacking the village—Governor cancels his previous orders—He speaks to diarist regarding his former idea of visiting Madras—And certain shipments of cloths—Governor revives, and again defers, the idea of capturing the party at Villiyanallûr—Report of the movements of Maḥfuz K͟hân—And of his advance to attack Madras—Letters from 'Abd-ul-Jalîl to the Governor, and Tânappa Mudali—What he said in the former of these—What he wrote in the latter—The reply sent by M. Dupleix—It suggests a personal discussion with 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—Letter to the Governor from M. Martin—In it he reports his retreat to Ariyânkuppam—Governor's anger at this—Diarist finds that M. Martin's interpreter was chiefly to blame—M. Martin and his men recalled—He, the interpreter, and Vîrappan, examined—Interpreter confined, and Vîrappan censured—Men sent to intercept letters between the English and Maḥfuz K͟hân—Governor questions diarist as to the movements of Maḥfuz K͟hân, etc.—And talks again of going to Madras—Diarist dissuades him from capturing the sepoys at Villiyanallûr—Meets M. Desmarets—Goes to the Governor's house—Informs him that a reply from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib has arrived—And reports what Vakîl Subbaiyan wrote—The reply sent to Subbaiyan—Diarist tells Governor that there is no news from Vizhuppuram—Governor orders certain cloths—Diarist states where the merchants of Madras are said to have secured their goods—Diarist reports what he heard from Vizhuppuram—Governor decides to despatch a force thither—Men sent to collect news—The bearers of gifts from Bâlaiya Tambirân brought to the Governor—He asks diarist where the English hid their treasure at Madras—

Conversation on this subject—Strange tale told to diarist by M. Bussy—News received by diarist concerning the English postal runners—Remark of Governor on learning strength of the force at Vizhuppuram—Flattering reply of diarist—Conversation touching the treasure at Madras—Widow of Dôst'Alî Khân prepares presents for the Governor—Description of these—Formalities with which they are brought—Reception by the Governor of them and the bearers—Letter from Madras to the Governor—This reports an attempt by Mahfuz Khân's men, to open the bar of the river—The failure of the steps taken to hinder them—A subsequent engagement—The total rout of the Muhammadans—The immediate flight of Mahfuz Khân—And the sack of his camp—This news told by the Governor, to diarist—Who enumerates the previous reverses of Mahfuz Khân—And expresses his opinion as to what he will do—Exultation of the Governor—Diarist receives details of the battle—Governor proposes to go to Madras, and diarist approves—Governor's plans as to his march—Says that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl must be captured—His scheme for effecting this—Diarist points out an oversight—Governor promises to remedy it—Obtains from diarist a plan of a certain route—Writes and signs certain orders—And personally instructs the officers concerned—V. Reddi asks diarist, as war is certain, how to secure his family—Is reassured by diarist—Who reports to the Governor the defection of the Killedar of Gingee—Capture of the man ordered—Governor gives special orders to diarist—Who sends out three men, with strict instructions—V. Aiyan brings news of the Killedar—Is urged to capture 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—Diarist obtains orders for free transit of certain articles—He sends orders as to the duty on some rice—Visits Pachai Kandaiyar—Diarist's description of him—A peon comes to diarist—And reports that Mahfuz Khân dismissed him without a reply to the letter delivered by him—That he was robbed—That a priest at Mylapore assisted him—That he returned, to again ask an answer—But was turned away—That he saw M. de Kerjean, in confinement—Witnessed the attack made by the French—Returned and told the priest what he had seen—And came back by way of Covelong—Diarist takes him to the Governor—And when telling the news suppresses particulars as to M. de Kerjean—He afterwards reports touching the Killedar of Gingee—Mme. Dupleix sends N. Pillai to ask the news—Diarist's sarcastic reply—N. Pillai tells him that she sent costly gifts to Mahfuz Khân—That, on arrival, the bearers were told to come to Mylapore—That M. Khân then ordered their execution—And that, overhearing the order, they fled—He also says that the Governor asked about M. de Kerjean—And enjoined secrecy on the peon.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1746.

Sunday, 30th October 1746, or 16th Arppisi of Akshaya.*—The following is an account of what took

* "16th" in the Tamil copy. The correct date is 17th.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1746.

The letters written on the previous night despatched.

place this morning, when I went to see the Governor. The three letters written last night were delivered to two couriers, one of whom was to convey to Arcot those addressed to the Nawâb, and Ḥusain Ṣâḥib; and the other was to carry to Conjeeveram the letter written to Maḥfuz K͟hân, who, it was said, was on his way there. I afterwards reported to the Governor that I had forwarded the letter to the amaldâr of Mylapore by post, and having done this, I stepped aside, and sat down. He then directed me to send for Tânappa Mudali, and to write and despatch a letter to Imâm Ṣâḥib. I complied with his orders, and delivered the packet into the hands of Imâm Ṣâḥib's messenger, a Muhammadan who had come to purchase brocade. In compliance with the instructions of the Governor to prevent the seal being seen, I enclosed the letter in another which the messenger was carrying, so that the only seal visible was that on the latter.

Governor gives sundry directions to diarist.

Who communicates certain news to him.

This evening, I communicated to the Governor the intelligence brought by Ḥusain, from Vizhuppuram. He said that he would give a reply to-morrow. At noon, Tânappa Mudali and I waited on M. Paradis, and requested him to permit us to pay, in March next, the instalment of rent falling due in November for the villages farmed by us at Kârikâl. He said that if we each would, at once, deliver grain to the value of 1,000 pagodas, he would write telling his servants to receive the balance of 750 pagodas, in March, provided that we paid it,

Tánappa Mudali and diarist ask M. Paradis for time to pay certain rent.

His conditions.

also, in kind, at the rate of half a measure in excess of the then market rate per pagoda. As this would entail loss, Tânappa Mudali was unwilling to accept his conditions. Considering it, however, impolitic to tell him so, we said that we would think the matter over, and give a reply in the evening. I consulted Sêshaiyangâr. Agreeing with him in the view that, in the event of the proposed terms not being accepted, M. Paradis might trouble us very much, I immediately repaired to him, and intimated our consent.

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They promise a reply later on.

Diarist consults a friend, and consents.

Monday, 31st October 1746, or 17th Arppisi of Akshaya.*—This morning, at about five or six Indian hours before day-break, 300 French and 200 East Indian soldiers and Mahé sepoys; 500 in all, marched from Pondichery for Madras. Ten horses were also sent; seven of these belonging to Tamilians, and three to the Company. Krimâsi Pandit and a writer accompanied the force, the former to act as interpreter between the French and Muhammadans, and the latter to read and write letters in Persian.

A mixed force starts for Madras.

Krimasi Pandit goes as interpreter.

I informed the Governor that Muttaiya Pillai, also, desired to go. He then gave me a letter to be taken by him to M. Paradis. I stated that he wished to see him before leaving. In reply, M. Dupleix said that he would experience a hundred-fold more pleasure to hear of his having joined

* "17th" in the Tamil copy. The correct date is 18th.

Chap. XXXIII. — 1746. M. Pillai accompanies it.

M. Paradis, at Madras, than to see him. Muttaiya Piḷḷai started in the afternoon, with forty peons.

Letters from the amaldar of Mylapore, and Dastgir Sahib.

Contents of these.

Tuesday, 1st November 1746, or 19th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the Governor's house. Letters arrived from the amaldâr of Mylapore, and Pîr Sa'dat Dastgîr Ṣâḥib. The amaldâr intimated that Mylapore was no longer under his control; that some days previously Mirzâ Hâdî Hâji Bêg, a Jemadar, had encamped there, with 200 horse; that this was probably the same individual who, for the last ten or twelve days, had been capturing and harassing the French, and committing other excesses; that Maḥfuz Khân, with a large force, which included 200 matchlockmen, had also arrived at Mylapore; and that as his master, Maḥfuz Khân, had assumed the conduct of affairs, he, himself, could not be held responsible for any acts of the Muhammadans. Dastgîr Ṣâḥib wrote: "I have renounced the world, and am sitting apart. I know nothing of these disturbances." When the letter from the amaldâr was interpreted to him, the Governor spoke jeeringly of the "large force of 200 men," led by Maḥfuz Khân. I thereupon informed him that the post runner had brought news that 4,000 armed men, consisting of Europeans, East Indians, and sepoys, had marched from Fort St. David, for Madras. He exclaimed, in an angry tone: "The man who told such a false tale as this should have his ears cropped, receive 100 stripes, and be driven out of the town. He magnifies a body of

Governor jeers at amaldar's letter.

What diarist thereupon says, angers the Governor.

200 or 300 men into a force of 4,000." On this I remarked: "He mentioned double that number to me, but when telling you the news, I reduced his figure by one half." "What ought I to do to you for indiscreetly making a report of this sort?" exclaimed he. On hearing this, I withdrew. After a while, however, the Governor sent for me, and said: "As was decided yesterday, we must send the men who were ordered to remain at Ariyânkuppam, to Vizhuppuram, to seize 'Abd-ul-Jalîl. Mahfuz Khân troubles such of our people as fall into his hands, and is intent on plunder. Despatch two men, with a letter which I will presently give you, to M. Martin, the officer stationed at Ariyânkuppam, directing him to proceed to Vizhuppuram. They will also act as his guides." I thereupon sent Gôpâlakrishna Aiyan and Vîrappan, to conduct M. Martin to Vizhuppuram.

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On which he withdraws.

Governor subsequently recalls him.

And bids him forward a letter to M. Martin.

After this had been done, the Governor again summoned me, and ordered the drafting of a letter to Mahfuz Khân, in the subjoined terms: "You ill-treat those of our people whom you meet, and even threaten them with death. This is not right. As we look upon you as our elder brother, we are desirous of saving you from harm. Many Muhammadans who are members of your family are residing at Madras, as well as at Pondichery. If you permit harm to befall the three men whom you have imprisoned, these thousands of Muhammadans will have to pay for it. Very many of them will die by our hands, and we

And then directs him to draft a letter to Mahfuz Khan.

The threat which this conveys.

CHAP. XXXIII. — 1746. And the demand which it makes. shall shed their blood until it flows like a river. To avert this calamity, you should send the three prisoners back to Madras, under the escort of the Jemadar who captured them, and should furnish us with hostages for your good faith. It will be only after you have adopted this course, that there will be peace between us."

Orders as to certain letters. Twelve letters came by post from Madras. The addresses on them were written in Persian. I informed the Governor that they were sent from Acheen to Surat. He ordered me to keep them by me until I could forward them, with other letters, to their destination.

Envoy from the Raja of Kolatri presents himself. The Bhaṭṭan who came on a mission from the Râjâ of Kolatri next presented himself, though the occasion was not a favourable one. The Governor handed to me the double cadjan letter from the Râjâ, addressed to him, and said: What the Governor said to him. "Tell the envoy that we know the circumstances in which the Râjâ is at present placed. He requires our help to drive out the pretender who is now in possession of his country, and the English who have befriended his rival. Inform him that we will expel the English, and seize their possessions; that we will support his master; and that the Râjâ, himself, must set about collecting the force requisite to overthrow his opponent." I communicated the Governor's speech to the Bhaṭṭan.

I then went to attend the marriage ceremonies of Muttukrishṇa Cheṭṭi's son, and afterwards returned home.

Pachai Kandaiyar of Turaiyûr, who had come to assist at the installation of Bâlaiya Swâmi, and who was on his way back to Turaiyûr, intimated his desire to visit Pondichery. I obtained a pass for him, to enter the town, and he accordingly came.

Chap. XXXIII. — 1746. Pachai Kandaiyar visits Pondichery.

At 3 in the afternoon, the Governor sent for me, and asked whether, in accordance with the directions given by him yesterday, I had ascertained the strength of the party posted at Villiyanallûr, in view to capturing it. I stated that I had received information that only ten or twelve horses were picketed there, but that forty or fifty sepoys were encamped near them. On this, the Governor exclaimed: "Then we will take the men prisoners." I said: "'Abd-ul-Jalîl has sent instructions to the amaldâr of Villiyanallûr, to hoist the war-flag, and to prevent supplies coming into the village. The Nawâb has also despatched a similar order to Mîr Ḥusain Khân. In reply, the amaldâr of Villiyanallûr has written to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl that the enemy are fearless, and would fall upon him, at once, if he attempted to surround the village, but that he, ['Abd-ul-Jalîl], might advance against it with a large force. Mîr Ḥusain Khân, of Vazhudâvûr, has also written that he would require large reinforcements for the purpose of surrounding the village, and has at the same time represented that it was not expedient to attack it, as the enemy might offer a determined resistance, and might seize the custom-house which has been established there. Mîr

Governor converses with diarist regarding the party at Villiyanallur.

Diarist relates what took place between the amaldar of that place, and 'Abd-ul-Jalil.

And states that Mir Husain Khan has demanded large reinforcements.

And has deprecated attacking the village.

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Husain Khân has further represented that although he was averse to acting on the aggressive, he was prepared to abide by the orders of the Nawâb. This is how matters stand at present." "Then let us not think of seizing these men," said the Governor; and he countermanded his order to make them prisoners.

Governor cancels his previous orders.

He then conversed with me concerning the idea which he once entertained of going to Madras, and the subsequent abandonment of it, owing to the opposition of M. de la Bourdonnais. He afterwards said: "You know the Dutch ship that is bound for Mocha. She is to sail next Tai [January]. I intend sending, by her, 300 scores of coarse blue [cotton] cloth. Will each score cost 28 pagodas?" I intimated that the cost would be one pagoda more; namely, 29. The Governor replied: "Then, the 300 scores will cost 10,000 pagodas. There is only a period of two months and ten days between now, and then. I will give you the money." He next asked me whether I was sending any piece-goods for the Company. I informed him that I intended to despatch fifty bales,—thirty containing 100 scores of coarse blue cloth, and twenty of fine muslin—and that I would ship them when M. Legou, who was ill, returned. He replied: "Well; do so."

He speaks to diarist regarding his former idea of visiting Madras.

And certain shipments of cloths.

As I was eating my supper, at 9, I was summoned by the Governor who told me, that the men who were at Villiyanallûr must, somehow or other, be captured. I gave him the same reasons as I had

Governor revives, and again defers, the idea of capturing the troops at Villiyanallur.

before, to dissuade him. He then dropped the subject, saying: "We will see about it when 'Abd-ul-Jalîl returns." I went home, at 10. Chap. XXXIII. — 1746.

Wednesday, 2nd November 1746, or 20th Arppisi of Akshaya.—Venkaṭâchala Aiyan came to me, this morning, and said: "My elder brother has arrived from Conjeeveram. He states that, on the evening of Wednesday last, Maḥfuz Khân arrived there, with 400 horse, 1,000 foot, four or five pieces of artillery, and about ten elephants; that making no halt, he marched on, and pitched his camp at Bâla Muttu Râma Cheṭṭi's choultry; that he is advancing to attack Madras; that he has written to the Poligars and Killedars directing them to join him with their men at Mylapore; and that he will leave Srîperumbûdûr to-morrow, on his way to Madras, and will encamp there the day after to-morrow."

Report of the movements of Mahfuz Khan.

And of his advance to attack Madras.

Two letters arrived from 'Abd-ul-Jalîl; the one addressed to the Governor, and the other to Tânappa Mudali. In the former, 'Abd-ul-Jalîl wrote: "I am, even now, engaged in annexing territory. But do not take that to heart. I act only under the Nawâb's orders. I do what I can, which is to look to God, and beseech Him to bring about peace soon. Let there not be a breach in our friendship. I have with me one Mirzâ, a trustworthy man, whom I will send to you, if you are inclined to come to terms." 'Abd-ul-Jalîl wrote to Tânappa Mudali thus: "In your letter you state that the Europeans are many, that they are bent on war

Letters from 'Abd-ul-Jalil to the Governor, and Tanappa Mudali.

What he said in the former of these.

What he wrote in the latter

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alone, and think of nothing else, and that you have not communicated to the Governor what I said, because, so you allege, the Europeans will not even listen to his words. Of what concern is it to us if they make an attack, in ever so large numbers? What are they to us? A single word to the Nawâb will suffice to scatter them like gossamer. We can carry out anything that we desire. I have, just now, sent a letter to your Governor. Tell him to effect a peaceful settlement." On this being communicated to M. Dupleix, he directed the following reply to be sent: "We are always at peace with the Muhammadans. They, alone, are the aggressors. In the fiery ardour of youth, Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân acts inconsiderately. The Nawâb of Arcot has very kindly feelings towards us. He never does anything violent. If you will visit us, we will personally talk over these matters, and bring them to a peaceful issue." A letter in these terms was accordingly sent.

The reply sent by M. Dupleix.

It suggests a personal discussion with 'Abd-ul-Jalil.

M. Martin, who had advanced with twenty-five soldiers, twenty-five sepoys, and ten of the Nayinâr's* peons, to the neighbourhood of Vizhuppuram, wrote to the Governor to inform him that the news brought by Ranga Piḷḷai's men was to the effect that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl was holding a fort, and had with him 200 or 300 sepoys, three elephants, and half-a-dozen camels; that a force of 200 or 300 men would be required to dislodge him; and that he was

Letter to the Governor from M. Martin.

* Karuttambi Nayinâr, the chief of peons.

consequently obliged, as his men were also fatigued, to fall back to Ariyânkuppam. The Governor sent for me, and exclaimed angrily: "Your spies first alleged that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl was occupying a house, and now they have affirmed that it is a fort. Hence, they have lied." I replied that I must make inquiries of my people when they arrived. On questioning Vîrappan, the physician, and others, I ascertained that the mistake had arisen from the incorrect interpretation, by an East Indian, of what was said to him, and that Vîrappan, also, was somewhat to blame. I communicated this to the Governor, who wrote to M. Martin, recalling him and his detachment, and directing him to bring the East Indian who had acted as interpreter.

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In it, he reports his retreat to Ariyankuppam.

Governor's anger at this.

Diarist finds that M. Martin's interpreter was chiefly to blame.

M. Martin, and his men, recalled.

At 4 in the afternoon, M. Martin arrived with his detachment. He, the East Indian interpreter, and the physician Vîrappan, were confronted with one another, and examined. The Governor ordered the East Indian to be kept under a guard. He found, also, that the physician was to blame, but let him off without punishment. He afterwards asked me whether it was publicly known that a party of soldiers had accompanied M. Martin. I said that it was not.

He, the interpreter, and Virappan, examined.

Interpreter confined, and Virappan censured.

He directed me to detail men to intercept such letters as might pass between the English and Maḥfuz Khân. I sent six, namely, Toṇḍamânattam Venkatâchala Aiyan, Ḥusain, Swâminâdhan, etc., and gave them Rs. 24.

Men sent to intercept letters between the English and Mahfuz Khan.

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Governor questions diarist as to the movements of Mahfuz Khan, etc.

At 9 at night, I was summoned by the Governor, who questioned me regarding the movements, in the vicinity of Madras, of Maḥfuz Khân, and the distribution of his troops. I gave him the information. He next asked me whether any messenger had come from Vizhuppuram. I stated that no one had. He then spoke of his intention to proceed to Madras, and of what he proposed to do there; and I gave him replies suited to the occasion. When he said that he was determined to capture, at all hazards, the sepoys who were at Villiyanallûr, I dissuaded him by saying that he ought to leave them alone, unless they openly manifested signs of hostility, and that it would be better to wait, with a view to ascertain what course 'Abd-ul-Jalîl would adopt.

And again talks of going to Madras.

Diarist dissuades him from capturing the sepoys at Villiyanallur.

Thursday, 3rd November 1746, or 21st Arppisi of Akshaya.—I was going, this morning, in the direction of M. Desmarêts' house, to attend a sale, by auction, of young elephants. He met me on the way, and said that this had been postponed, but that twenty candies of cinnamon bark, two bales of coarse cloths, and four rolls of silk taffeta, were to be put up to auction, in two lots. I thereupon went to the Governor's house, where a sitting of the Council was being held. When this was over, I intimated to him that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib had now replied to the complimentary letter concerning the capture of Fort St. George. He asked me what Vakîl Subbaiyan had written. I informed him that he stated that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib had directed him to beg us to conciliate

Meets M. Desmarets.

Goes to the Governor's house.

Informs him that a reply from Husain Sahib has arrived.

Mahfuz Khân, who was marching towards Madras, and to preserve friendly terms with the Nawâb; and that the letter further contained news of the army, and also mentioned that field pieces were being conveyed to Madras; that eight field guns brought from Malabar to Trichinopoly had been sent for, and that the Nawâb had, as requested, sanctioned an increase of cavalry. The Governor ordered the following letter to be sent to Subbaiyan: "You say that Husain Sâhib has desired you to request us to conciliate Mahfuz Khân. How can we do so unless we know what his intentions are? Ascertain, and inform us as to these, and ask him whether it is right for rulers to seize and imprison envoys." This was done.

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And reports what Vakil Subbaiyan wrote.

The reply sent to Subbaiyan.

The Governor afterwards inquired of me whether I had received any news from Vizhuppuram. I replied that I had none to tell him. I then informed him that M. Bussy had given me a list of the goods which he wished sent to Mascareigne. He authorized me to deliver the articles, as specified in it. He also directed me to make ready 300 scores of coarse blue cloth, valued at 10,000 pagodas, for shipment to Mocha in the Dutch ship leaving in Tai [January] next, and gave me 5,000 Pondichery crescent pagodas, in part payment of the order. He next sat down to write a despatch to Madras, and calling me up, asked where the merchants at Madras had secured their goods. I replied that I had heard it reported that they had done so at Saidapet, Karukampâkkam, St. Thomas' Mount, the Little

Diarist tells Governor that there is no news from Vizhuppuram.

Governor orders certain cloths.

Diarist states where the merchants of Madras are said to have secured their goods.

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Mount, and Mylapore. The Governor wrote to M. Paradis accordingly.

Diarist reports what he heard from Vizhuppuram.

In the afternoon, Dharmaiyan arrived from Vizhuppuram. The Governor having sent for me at 4, I presented myself before him. I told him that the whereabouts of the spies who had been sent to reconnoitre remained unknown, that it was reported that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl had with him a body of fifty or sixty men, and that we might safely put the number that he had with him at a hundred.

Governor decides to despatch a force thither.

He thereupon decided to send, to-morrow afternoon, fifty French soldiers, fifty sepoys, and twenty Poligar peons. He also told me that he would direct M. Duquesne to despatch one half of the men from Ozhukarai, and the remainder from Ariyânkuppam.

Men sent to collect news.

I deputed Yegyam, Paṭṭavaidyan, and a few others, to collect news.

The bearers of gifts from Balaiya Tambiran brought to the Governor.

Subsequently, I brought before the Governor the Paṇḍârams * who were the bearers of gifts of fruit, sugar, and sugarcandy, which Bâlaiya Tambirân, of Bommaiyapâḷaiyam, had sent to him on the occasion of his installation. I obtained for them permission to take away the contributions to the matt, which had been detained at the custom-house. The Governor directed me to issue the necessary notice to the officer in charge.

He asks diarist where the English hid their treasure at Madras.

At half-past 7, the Governor summoned me, and desired to know whether I had any information as to where the English had hidden their treasure at

* Hindu mendicants in the south of India, of the Súdra caste; often officiating as ministrant priests in the temples of Sivâ.

Madras. I mentioned to him one or two places where I had heard that they had concealed it. "Have you been told," he asked, "that the English have put it in a well in the fort?" I said that the treasure was hidden in the part of the fort where the English resided.

Chap. XXXIII. — 1746. Conversation on this subject.

After this, M. Bussy gave me an account of how 600 dogs had killed 2,500 Dutchmen in Europe.

Strange tale told to diarist by M. Bussy.

Friday, 4th November 1746, or 22nd Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, I deputed Venkaṭâchala Aiyan and some peons, to accompany the man who came to me with the news that he had succeeded in inducing the postal runners of the English to deliver their letters to him. I gave him Rs. 5, and afterwards sent Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan to Vizhuppuram.

News received by diarist concerning the English postal runners.

When I waited on the Governor, he asked me how many men there then were at Vizhuppuram. I said that there were about 100. He thereupon exclaimed: "Even if there were 400, fifty of our soldiers would easily defeat them. You know very well the disposition, and quality of the courage, of the people of this country." I said, flatteringly, "A hundred French soldiers are a match for 1,000 men of this part of the world." The Governor then told me that he had heard, last night, that the English had concealed their treasure at the bottom of a well. I said, in accordance with what Krishṇaiyan the Hasty had stated to me, that the treasure was hidden in the well of the English church. I then mentioned the copper which had been brought from Madras.

Remark of Governor on learning strength of the force at Vizhuppuram.

Flattering reply of diarist.

Conversation touching the treasure at Madras.

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Widow of Dost 'Ali Khan prepares presents for the Governor.

At 5 this evening, the widow of Dôst 'Alî Khân made ready the following presents for the Governor; viz., two breast-ornaments—one set with an emerald, and the other with a ruby in the centre—two embroidered shawls, with borders in two colours, one woman's upper cloth, one atlas,* two upper coats, one silk head cloth, with long embroidered ends, and an ornament to be worn on the turban, worth, in all, Rs. 1,000, or more. These were laid out, on two trays. I had previously repaired to the Governor's house, and directed the Nayinâr to have in readiness musicians, nautch girls, and all the spears, maces, and other articles, required for the occasion. The procession was drawn up at the Governor's house, and I went with it, accompanied by the Governor's palanquin, mace-bearers, flags, the Company's peons, and a native captain, to Chandâ Ṣâhib's house. I placed the presents in the palanquin, and returned with trumpets sounding, and drums beating, to the house of the Governor, who advanced to receive them. When they were taken out, and laid before him, twenty-one guns were fired. Râghava Paṇḍit, who accompanied us, with the gifts, was presented with betel and nut, sprinkled with rosewater,

Description of these.

Formalities with which they are brought.

Reception by the Governor of them and the bearers.

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* It is not quite clear what is meant. *Hobson Jobson* says of it that it is an obsolete word for satin. Spelt *atlass*, it is still the German name for that article. *The Drapers' Dictionary* says that this word was also applied to a "silk stuff wrought with threads of gold and silver, exported from India." A piece of this latter is, very probably, what is referred to here.

Chap. XXXIII. — 1746. Letter from Madras to the Governor.

and politely dismissed. The Governor then drove to the beach, and whilst he was there, a letter from M. Barthélemy was brought from Madras, by a catamaran, and delivered to him. It ran as follows:

This reports an attempt by Mahfuz Khân's men, to open the bar of the river.

"Maḥfuz Khân was encamped on the foreshore of the Nungambâkkam tank. His army lay at the Governor's garden. Some Muhammadans were sent to open the bar at the mouth of the river.* Fifty Mahé sepoys were despatched to prevent their doing this, but were strictly ordered to fire only blank ammunition, in order to put the enemy to flight. M. de la Tour was directed to encamp near the Governor's garden-house, with 200 soldiers and fifty Mahé sepoys, in view to obstructing the advance of the Muhammadan troops. The sepoys sent to hinder the cutting of the bar, discharged their muskets, which were loaded with powder only. The enemy fled, but discovering that the fire opened on them was harmless, returned, and resumed operations, regardless of the fire which was again directed at them. I was informed of this, but strictly enjoined on our troops that they should not engage in a real conflict, unless they were themselves attacked, and I even ordered M. de la Tour's men to desist from attempting to prevent the Muhammadans from opening the bar.

The failure of the steps taken to hinder them.

* This was the Cooum, which flows into the sea about a third of a mile or so south of Fort St. George.

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A subsequent engagement.

At 5 in the morning, some Muhammadan troops were observed south-west of the fort walls. To drive them away, two pieces of artillery, which were not loaded with shot, were fired in their direction. M. de la Tour, who was in camp with 200 soldiers and fifty Mahé sepoys, hearing the report of the cannon, concluded that it was a signal for him to fall upon the enemy. He accordingly attacked the troops encamped in the Governor's garden and to the west of it, and opened a fire of musketry on them. This engagement took place on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th [2nd November]. Grenades, also, were thrown into the Muhammadan camp. Seeing that a battle was being fought in earnest, the men on the ramparts discharged several pieces of cannon at the enemy's camp. Some of these were shotted, and others not. The artillery fire did vast execution amongst the troops encamped in the Governor's garden, and the temple behind it. Some men had their legs shot off, others had their heads blown away. Some took to their horses, and some to their heels. Many horses were killed under their riders.

The total rout of the Muhammadans.

The entire Muhammadan force was put to total rout.

The immediate flight of Mahfuz Khân.

Before a shot could reach his camp, Maḥfuz Khân mounted his elephant, and escaped.

And the sack of his camp.

After pursuing the fugitives for upwards of five Indian hours, the French troops returned to the camp from which the Muhammadans had fled, and plundered the valuables found there. They next set fire to some property which they found in the Îswaran temple."

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This news was communicated to me, with every indication of joy, by the Governor, who sent for me at 6, on his return from a drive. I said: "Did I not tell you that your good fortune would enable you to vanquish your enemies? When Maḥfuz Khân went to fight in Malabar, he was defeated, and escaped to Trichinopoly, with only twenty-five horsemen. In the Tanjore campaign, also, he was, as you know, worsted, and put to flight. When he went to the north, to offer battle to the hill tribes, he was again overcome, and fled to Arcot. He has had lessons of this kind, on half-a-dozen occasions, and it is no new thing for him to sustain defeat. Consequently, he was routed at Madras, too. I have already told you that he would come to his senses, and sue for peace. You will see my prediction fulfilled. His father will write to him, saying: 'You have not listened to my advice. I have had enough of your exploits; you must return.' To avoid scandal, Maḥfuz Khân will give out that he is going back to Arcot, because his old father is ill there." The Governor then spoke with exultation of the victory, and with scorn of Maḥfuz Khân.

This news told by the Governor, to diarist.

Who enumerates the previous reverses of Mahfuz Khan.

And expresses his opinion as to what he will do.

Exultation of the Governor.

I afterwards received a letter from Guruvappa Cheṭṭi, giving details of the battle. In this, it was stated that 100 men, and fifty or sixty horses had been killed. In every essential, it agreed with what the Governor had told me. I have caused a copy of it to be made in the correspondence register, for the purpose of reference.

Diarist receives details of the battle.

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Governor proposes to go to Madras, and diarist approves.

At 7 at night, the Governor, after describing to me the exploits performed during the battle with Maḥfuz Khân at Madras, intimated his desire to proceed there in the course of the week. I said: "If you had gone earlier, you might have done much. Even now, it is not too late. You can settle matters there, and return quickly." The Governor then said: "I will take 250 or 300 soldiers with me, as far as Sadras, where I shall be joined by 250 men from Madras, to which I will then move on with the combined force. Hold yourself in readiness to accompany me." I replied: "Very good, sir." He continued: "We must, at all hazards, capture 'Abd-ul-Jalîl. Twenty-five soldiers, twenty-five Mahé sepoys, and ten of the Nayinâr's peons, are stationed at Ariyânkuppam, and a similar number at Ozhukarai. I will depute an officer to go, at daybreak to-morrow, to both of these places, and march with the men, in the afternoon, to Vizhuppuram." I interposed, as follows: "My people went to Ozhukarai to-day, and when they invited the troops encamped there to accompany them to Vizhuppuram, representing to them that it was a fit time to strike the blow which had been planned, the sergeant in command is reported to have said that he had no orders to move from where he was." "I had forgotten," said the Governor, "to send instructions to-day. I will now write directing him to march to-morrow, at 1 in the afternoon." "Very good," I replied. He next asked me for a plan of the route

Governor's plans as to his march.

Says that Abd-ul Jalil must be captured.

His scheme for effecting this.

Diarist points out an oversight.

Governor promises to remedy it.

between Ozhukarai and Vizhuppuram. I prepared one, and handed it to him. He then wrote out an order giving instructions that M. Caussinet was to march by way of Ariyânkuppam, and M. . . . . .*, the officer commanding the western gate, by way of Ozhukarai. This he signed, and delivered to M. Duquesne. He next called both M. Caussinet and the officer commanding the western gate, and having personally given them his orders, dismissed them, at half-past 9. I also took leave and returned home at 10.

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Obtains from diarist a plan of a certain route.

Writes and signs certain orders.

And personally instructs the officers concerned.

For the last two days, Tânappa Mudali has failed to attend at the Governor's house.

Saturday, [*5th November 1746, or*] *23rd* [*Arppisi of Akshaya*].—Muttu Venkaṭapati Reḍḍi, who arrived at Pondichery the day before yesterday, came to my house this morning, and said: "It is certain that the Nawâb is about to make war. What shall I do for the safety of my children?" I replied: "Our city will in no wise suffer, but will emerge from the struggle with more glory than ever. If the worst should happen, it shall fare with your children, as it does with mine." With these words, I comforted and dismissed him. I then went to the Governor, and reported to him that Nâẓim Muḥî-ud-din, the Killedar of Gingee, had joined 'Abd-ul-Jalîl at Vizhuppuram, with fourteen horsemen, and twenty or thirty foot. He thereupon wrote an order directing

V. Reddi asks diarist, as war is certain, how to secure his family.

Is reassured by diarist.

Who reports to Governor the defection of the Killedar of Gingee.

* Blank in the Tamil copy.

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the two officers who had been deputed to capture 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, to seize Nâẓim Muhî-ud-din, also; and, in view to doing this, to set out for Vizhuppuram, at 1 in the afternoon, with the troops stationed at Ariyânkuppam and Ozhukarai. This was delivered to M. Duquesne. The Governor then desired me to instruct my men, carefully, as to what they had to do, adding that when once they had got the soldiers into the fort, the capture of the two men would easily follow. For this purpose, I sent Ḥusain, Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan, and a peon. They had strict orders to assist, in every way, in effecting the proposed capture. I gave Ḥusain a very liberal present, and held out promises to him of future preferment. He was to indicate to the soldiers the persons who were to be arrested. After I had despatched these men on their mission, Toṇḍamânattam Venkaṭâchala Aiyan came to me, and said that his spy had returned with the news that Nâẓim Muhî-ud-din was preparing to start for Gingee. I, however, strictly enjoined on him to spare no effort to effect the capture of 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, even though he had left Vizhuppuram. I sent him off, at half-past 1.

Capture of this man ordered.

Governor gives special orders to diarist.

Who sends out three men, with strict instructions.

V. Aiyan brings news of the Killedar.

Is urged to capture 'Abd-ul-Jalîl.

Diarist obtains orders for free transit of certain articles.

As, for the last seven or eight days, the officers at the custom-house had been prohibiting pilgrims and other wayfarers, from bringing in with them, when passing through the customs, their brass, copper, and iron, vessels, I obtained an order to permit the free transit of these, and forwarded it to the officials concerned. I next sent instructions to the officers

of the custom-house to permit the admission, free of duty, of the bags of rice which had been consigned to Khân Ṣâḥib. The Governor now left, to preside at the Council, and I went to the areca-nut storehouse, where I stayed for some time, and afterwards went home.

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In the afternoon, I went to the gardens, and thence to Kambâlaiyar's house, to visit Pachai Kandaiyar, who was staying there, and who had come from Turaiyûr, to assist at the installation of Bâlaiya Swâmi. I took with me two yards of broadcloth, which I presented to Pachai Kandaiyar, before whom I prostrated myself. He is a man of pleasing manners, a great scholar, and possesses a deep knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil. I therefore conversed with him for about two Indian hours. Having obtained his permission to depart, I went at 6, to the Governor's house.

Visits Pachai Kandaiyar.

Diarist's description of him.

Some hours prior to this, Muttu, a Christian peon in the service of the Company, came to my house, and related the following story: "In accordance with the directions which I received, I proceeded to Conjeeveram, to deliver to Maḥfuz Khân the letter for him which had been entrusted to my care. But he had already left that place, and was encamped, with his followers, to the westward of Madras, where he had planted his standard. I repaired thither, and delivered the letter to him. Having read it, he told me that he would send a reply by his own messenger, and bade

A peon comes to diarist.

And reports that Mahfuz Khan dismissed him without a reply to the letter delivered by him.

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me depart. I represented to him that I could not go without his answer. 'You have nothing to fear,' said he; 'I will send it presently. You may go.' I quitted his camp, but was at once surrounded by the Muhammadans, and despoiled of my clothes, turban, and badge of office. I thereupon went to Mylapore, and told my story to a priest of the Church of St. Paul, who was the only person at liberty; all his fellows being in confinement. He gave me an old cloth, a turban, and two fanams as batta, and advised me to present myself to Maḥfuz Khân once more, before I returned to Pondichery, and ask for his reply. I followed his advice, and repaired to the camp of Maḥfuz Khân, to whom I preferred my request. His answer was 'I have already told you that I would send a reply by my own messenger. Go away.' A mace-bearer at once came forward to lead me from the presence of Maḥfuz Khân. I set out, and when I approached the sweet-meat bazaar, I saw M. de Kerjean, confined in a tent. He was dressed in pantaloons and a shirt, had a cap on his head, and was continually weeping. The son of the Roman physician * came to speak with the prisoner, but before he could exchange any words with him, he was ordered away, and M. de Kerjean was ill-treated by the armed attendants. His lot is a hard one. A plate containing

That he was robbed.

That a priest at Mylapore assisted him.

That he returned, to again ask a reply.

But was turned away.

That he saw M. de Kerjean, in confinement.

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* This refers to Francisco Pereira. *Vide* foot-note, p. 160, Vol. I.

the small quantity of rice and meat that forms his only food, is handed to him, and having eaten it, he wipes his hands, and commences to weep again. Whilst I was standing in the sweet-meat bazaar, the French soldiers fell upon the Muhammadan troops, who gave way, and rushed to their camp. I cannot describe the rout of the army, or the flight of Maḥfuz Khân. I, too, fled. I do not know what happened afterwards. I heard that the Muhammadans encamped a league further off, to the westward of Madras. I repaired to Mylapore, and told the priest what I had seen. He gave me a letter to a priest living in Pondichery, whom I met as I was returning by way of Covelong. I was telling him of all that had occurred, when we encountered the ship-wrecked men whom the Killedar of Covelong had released, and whom he, very kindly, had permitted to carry away the property saved from the wreck. I afterwards resumed my journey, and have brought with me the letter which M. Paradis handed to me for delivery to the Governor." I gave Muttu food, and said that in the evening I would conduct him to M. Dupleix, to repeat his story. In accordance with my promise, I took him with me to the Governor, whom I saw at half-past 6. When I told him of the flight of Maḥfuz Khân, and the release of the ship-wrecked crew by the Killedar of Covelong, who had also permitted them to take their property with them, he was delighted. But I

Witnessed the attack made by the French.

Returned and told the priest what he had seen.

And came back by way of Covelong.

Diarist takes him to the Governor.

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And, when telling the news, suppresses particulars as to M. de Kerjean.

did not mention to him all the particulars that Muttu had given me regarding the captivity in which M. de Kerjean languished. I did not tell him that he was continually weeping, or that he was loaded with chains, or that he was ill-treated. I drew a mild picture, and merely said that if the French troops had only pursued the Muhammadans a little further, they would have succeeded in rescuing M. de Kerjean. The Governor, however, did not dwell much on this subject. He retired to his room, and when he came out again, I informed him that I had received reliable information that the Killedar of Gingee, who arrived at 3 o'clock yesterday, had started this morning. He inquired if I knew the object of the visit. I said that I did not. I then obtained a permit for the rice consigned to Khân Sâhib, and afterwards went to the areca-nut godown, where I met Nârâyana Pillai, who came from Madame Dupleix, to ask me what the news brought by the peon [Muttu] was. I directed him to tell her that her elder brother, Mahfuz Khân, had fled, that his army was routed, and that he had promised to write a reply to the Governor by and by. I then went home. Nârâyana Pillai came again to me at 10, and said as follows: "Madame wrote a letter to Mahfuz Khân, and sent it by her mace-bearer along with presents consisting of one golden spittoon, one nicely carved box, bound with gold, and fitted with golden handles, one drinking cup, richly chased in gold, with a saucer which was made

He afterwards reports respecting the Killedar of Gingee.

Mme. Dupleix sends N. Pillai to ask the news.

Diarist's sarcastic reply.

N. Pillai tells him that she sent costly gifts to Mahfuz Khan.

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of the gold of Sâṇâr coins, and valued at 500 pagodas. A peon, who accompanied the mace-bearer, has now returned, and has related the following to Madame and the Governor. 'Ten days after the fight, as Maḥfuz Khân was seated in his tent, the mace-bearer presented to him the letter and gifts. Having read the former, Maḥfuz Khân said that he was about to go to Mylapore, and required us to follow him there. We accompanied his camp, and when he halted at Mylapore, he caused the presents which we carried with us to be brought into his tent, and summoning a Jemadar, directed him to behead all four of us. Before the Jemadar could leave the tent to execute the order which he had received, the mace-bearer, who had heard it given, whispered it into my ears and those of the coolies, and fled. We followed his example. He ran eastwards, and when we lost sight of him, owing, probably, to his having hidden himself in a house, we took to our heels in the direction of the Little Mount, and had just struck a path leading hither, when we were set upon, and robbed of our clothes. It was with difficulty that we escaped with our lives.' Having heard this, the Governor asked the peon where M. de Kerjean was. He replied that he did not know, but that he heard that he had been conveyed to Arcot. The Governor enjoined on the man to keep the matter secret, and dismissed him." Having given me this news, Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai took his departure.

That, on arrival, the bearer were ordered to come to Mylapore.

That M. Khan then ordered their execution.

And that, overhearing the order, they fled.

He also says that the Governor asked about M. de Kerjean.

And enjoined secrecy on the peon.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FROM NOVEMBER 6TH, TO NOVEMBER 18TH, 1746.

Meeting of Europeans held—Petitions Government to annul the treaty made by M. de la Bourdonnais—This request complied with—Attempt to capture 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—His hurried flight to the zenana—Failure of the French to find him—He makes good his escape—His household, etc., seized, and taken to Ariyânkuppam—M. Duquesne sent there, with his soldiers—And directed to release the prisoners—Letter from the Governor to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—This alleges that the French were in search of English fugitives—And acted as they did, through misapprehension—It expresses the deep regret of the Governor—And begs that the error may be excused—Diarist directed to see to the release of the prisoners—And to tell them the same tale as that written to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl—The letter for whom, he is bidden to deliver to them—Complies with the order—And makes a report to Governor—Madanânda Paṇḍit sends money to diarist—They take to M. LeBon a circular from the Governor—This translated into Telugu, and Persian—It states why Madras was captured—And complains of the action of Mahfuz Khân—Diarist informs Governor of the rumoured defeat of Mahfuz Khân—Governor's orders to the Nayinâr regarding certain lost articles—He tells diarist of a battle between M. Paradis and Mahfuz Khân—Details the particulars of the action—And of the rout of the Muhammadans—He mentions the subsequent movements of M. Paradis—And his junction with the force from Madras—His anger at the delay in effecting this—Diarist makes some soothing and flattering remarks—Mme. Dupleix, who is present, speaks in a like strain—What diarist then said—He talks for two Indian hours—His remarks touching M. de la Bourdonnais—Madame coincides—The Governor's observations, on learning what they are talking of—He directs diarist to write letters to the Nizâm, etc.—And to order Muttaiyappan to capture Peddu Nâyakkan—Bishop of Negapatam visits Mr. Hinde, at Fort St. David—Diarist intimates this to the Governor—Letter from V. Subbaiyan reports defeat of Mahfuz Khân—Diarist despatches circulars to certain Killedars—Is asked to provide supplies, etc., for the marriage of Chandâ Ṣâhib's daughter—Wedding gifts made by the Governor—Inquires as to the loan of Kanakarâyan's house—Arrangements made by him with Lazar—Governor demands an additional house—And obtaining the keys of it sends them to diarist—The assertions made by Tânappa Mudali—Remarks of diarist regarding him—Contents of certain official letters written by diarist—In the evening, he despatches others—Complaint made to him against Tânappa Mudali—His remarks on what was written in his horoscope—Letters to the Governor, etc., from Ḥusain Ṣâhib, V. Sâmba Aiyan, and M. de Kerjean—The first of these threatens force, if Fort St. George is not surrendered—And puts forward arguments to induce compliance—Contents of letters from Asad

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Ṣâḥib—Reply of Governor comments on seizure of French envoys—Thanks Husain Ṣâḥib for his treatment of the captives—And refuses to give up Fort St. George—Orders regarding supplies for M. de Kerjean, etc.—Latest accounts of Mahfuz Khân—Of M. Paradis—And of the Governor of Fort St. David—Return of fugitives from Cuddalore, etc.—Reported flight of the inhabitants of Porto Novo—News of the paroling of the English at Madras—Of there being no Muhammadans at Mylapore—And of the movements of Asad Ṣâḥib—The message sent by the Governor to the merchants of Madras—And the assurance which accompanies it—He asks diarist why he has not sent his brother to Madras—And orders that he shall go thither, with certain officials—Diarist furnishes Governor with copies of sundry letters—And explains the contents of others—Governor's remarks thereon—Diarist sends a circular to certain poligars, etc.—Contents of this—What M. Paradis wrote to the Governor—Diarist asks, of M. Cornet, wheat for Chandâ Ṣâḥib's family—Contents of a letter to the Governor from M. 'Alî Khân—He causes a courteous reply to be sent—And takes steps to supply Chandâ Ṣâḥib's family—Departure, for Madras, of certain officials—Claim made, by M. Dulaurens, on M. de la Touche—Who asks diarist to satisfy the demand, out of certain funds—Diarist prepares a draft to be sent to M. Dulaurens—Difficulty as to paying in silver settled—Diarist goes part of the way with M. de la Touche—Letter to the Governor from V. Subbaiyan—This gives news of the doings of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân—Says that these displeased Mahfuz Khân—And speaks of the views held, at Arcot, as to the fights of Mahfuz Khân with the French—Remarks of the Governor on the letter—Diarist tells him the news regarding the Governor of Fort St. David—And mentions the march of a force towards Gingee—Reply of the Killedar of Timiri to the letter regarding Mahfuz Khân—Concurs with the view taken by the Governor—Who asks diarist whether he should write to M. 'Alî Khân—He counsels delay—Governor agrees—Diarist tells him of an attempt to seize certain postal officials—And advises him not to complain to the Nawâb—Pious act of wife of C. Parasurâma Piḷḷai—Large gifts made by her.

Sunday, 6th November 1746, or 24th Arppisi of Akshaya.—A public meeting of the Europeans was held this morning, after the Governor had returned from church. As I record that the priests of the three churches attended this, it would be superfluous for me to say that others were present. At this gathering, it was declared that the European community had convened a meeting at which it had been

Meeting of Europeans held.

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Petitions Government to annul the treaty made by M. de la Bourdonnais.

resolved to address a memorial to the Governor and Council of Pondichery, requesting that the treaty with the English at Madras, entered into by M. de la Bourdonnais, should be annulled, on the score that all the terms of it were mischievous, and some even treasonable; inasmuch as they unduly favoured the English, who were the enemies of the French, and thus tended to lower the dignity and reputation of the French, in the eyes of the Muhammadan rulers of the country. On presentation of the memorial, the Council considered whether it was reasonable or not, and decided to cancel the treaty made by M. de la Bourdonnais with the English. Such was the news that I heard from the Europeans.

This request considered, and complied with.

Between 10 and 11, news of the party which had been sent to effect the capture of 'Abd-ul-Jalîl arrived. On the previous night, at 10, having partaken of supper, he was reclining on a cushion, and conversing with two or three of his friends, when the French soldiers, acting on information conveyed by spies, presented themselves at the house in which he was residing. When they attempted to enter the gate, the guards posted there drew their swords, to oppose them. M. Caussinet and the dunder-headed officer in command of the Vazhudâvûr gate, ordered the soldiers to fire. They thereupon discharged a volley along the passage, and the reports of the muskets startled 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, who left his turban and overcoat, his sword and Korân, his hookah, and his rosary of

Attempt to capture 'Abd-ul-Jalil.

His hurried flight to the zenana.

beads, at the spot at which he had been sitting, and fled, half-naked, to the women's apartments, where he hid himself in a chest. The Frenchmen were lacking in sense and tact, and understood nothing but fighting in the open field. There were no lights in the apartments; and to add to the bewilderment of the soldiers, the passages leading to them were, as is the case in Muhammadan houses, intricate, whilst the rooms themselves had various outlets. The party had neither torches with them, nor the means of striking a light; and they accordingly did not spend any considerable time seeking for their intended prisoner. The Mahé sepoys and the Nayinâr's peons, who had been stationed around the house, left their posts, and entered the building, in view to plundering it. In consequence of this, 'Abd-ul-Jalîl managed to make good his escape from the zenana. The French soldiers reported to their officers that they had searched everywhere, but that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl had fled some time previously. They next made his servants and peons prisoners, and took possession of the overcoat, sword, dagger, hookah, Korân, and rosary, left behind by him when he made his escape. They also seized the carpet on which he sat when engaged in his devotions. The French soldiers returned, at once, to Ariyânkuppam, with the muskets, swords, and daggers, taken from the attendants; twenty-one prisoners who consisted of the servants and others; and all their booty. Such was the

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Failure of the French to find him.

He makes good his escape.

His household, etc., seized, and taken to Ariyânkuppam.

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M. Duquesne sent there, with his soldiers.

And directed to release the prisoners.

Letter from the Governor to Abd-ul-Jalil.

This alleges that the French were in search of English fugitives.

And acted as they did, through a misapprehension.

report made to me by Vîrappan, and I communicated it to the Governor. Remarking that the project had failed because smarter men had not been employed, he sent for M. Duquesne, and directed him to take his company of soldiers to Ariyânkuppam. He also desired him to give food to the servants and peons, whose detention served no useful purpose, and to set them at liberty, after restoring all the property taken from them. At half-past 2, the Governor sent for me, and instructed me to write the following letter to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl: "Our soldiers, who were on the look-out to arrest English fugitives, heard a false report that two persons of rank had taken refuge in your palace. They questioned the sentinel at the gate; but instead of replying in a civil manner that there were no Englishmen within the building, he exclaimed, in an insolent tone, 'There is no coming into or going out of this place'; and then drew his sword in a threatening manner. Our men being new to this country, and not understanding its customs; and our national code of honor authorizing any person to shoot down an opponent who draws a sword on him, thought that this was a signal for them to use their muskets, and therefore fired a volley. They then entered the palace, seized the servants who were there, and commanded them to show the Englishmen who were reported to be concealed therein. They brought away the attendants as prisoners. As soon as I heard this, I was overwhelmed with

inexpressible grief. You will duly learn the punishment that I am about to mete out to the men who misbehaved in this manner. I exceedingly regret that anything should have arisen to endanger the more than brotherly affection that exists between us. But what is past is past. Let there be no breach of that friendship which has hitherto been so sincere, and which will, I trust, last for ever. At times, mistakes arise through the stupidity of the agents whom we employ, and it behoves us to overlook these. Excuse now the error of my men. I implore you not once, but a thousand times, to regard, for my sake, this accident with forbearance." It was in polished terms such as these, and even yet more polite, that the Governor directed me to write; and I did so. After the letter had been prepared, he desired me to go to Ariyânkuppam, and see that the prisoners were fed, and that all the property that had been brought away by the soldiers, sepoys, and the Nayinâr's peons, was restored to the proper owners. I was also instructed to give each of the prisoners a present of a rupee or two, and to conciliate them by saying that the mistake arose owing to a false report received by the French soldiers, to the effect that some Englishmen lay concealed in the palace; that no such mishaps need be apprehended in the future, as brotherly affection existed between the Governor of Pondichery and 'Abd-ul-Jalîl; that the recent misapprehension must be attributed to the freaks of

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It expresses the deep regret of the Governor.

And begs that the error made may be excused.

Diarist directed to see to the release of the prisoners.

And to tell them the same tale as that written to 'Abd-ul Jalil.

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fortune; that the Governor was much annoyed at it; and that he had decided to inflict severe punishment on the transgressors. He moreover directed me to deliver to them the letter addressed to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, and to send the twenty-one prisoners back to the place from which they had been brought. I accordingly went to Ariyânkuppam, and, in the presence of M. Duquesne, spoke to the prisoners in accordance with the directions which had been given to me, and distributed amongst them Rs. 40. I also gave them the letter to 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, and wished them a prosperous journey. At 7, I returned to the Governor, with M. Duquesne, M. Caussinet, and the officer commanding at the Vazhudâvûr gate, and reported all that had been done, as also the flight of the inhabitants of Villiyanallûr, Kûḍapâkkam, and other villages, on hearing the tidings of the captures made by the French soldiers. We then went home. The Governor handed to me the list, prepared in French by M. Duquesne, of the articles which had been restored to the Muhammadans. I delivered it, for safe custody, to Madanânda Paṇḍit.

The letter for whom, he is bidden to deliver to them.

Complies with the order.

And makes a report to Governor.

At 8 at night, Madanânda Paṇḍit forwarded to me a bill of exchange, accepted by Tarwâḍi, for Rs. 50. He had written to Subbaiyan regarding it. The amount covered by this was required to pay the expenses of the European who was sent to Arcot, in view to procuring the liberation and return of his countrymen there.

Madananda Pandit sends money to diarist.

Monday, 7th November 1746, or 25th Arppisi of Akshaya.—This morning, Madanânda Pandit and I went to M. LeBon, with the circular letter to the Killedars, Jagirdars, and Munsubahdars, which the Governor had drafted, yesterday, in French. We translated it into Telugu and Persian, and then prepared the number of copies required by the Governor. This occupied us until noon. The circular ran thus: "When Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and his son Mahfuz Khân came to Pondichery last year, they, of their own accord, suggested to us the expediency of attacking the English, and capturing their fort. They requested us to expel them from India, and promised to help us with 5,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry. They authorized us to capture Madras, at any cost, and to hoist the French flag there. The royal word was passed in the presence of many men of rank. We accordingly took Fort St. George, and now Mahfuz Khân comes, and tells us to restore it to the English. To enforce his demand, he proclaims war. This communication is intended to set forth to all people the existing circumstances of the case." The argument adduced in this letter will be better understood when the events detailed under this day's date have been perused.

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They take to M. LeBon a circular from the Governor.

This translated into Telegu, and Persian.

It states why Madras was captured.

And complains of the action of Mahfuz Khan.

I returned to the Governor the draft which he had written in French, and informed him that I had made the required number of copies in Persian. He then asked me why news from Madras had not

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Diarist informs the Governor of the rumoured defeat of Mahfuz Khan.

yet arrived. I replied : "It is rumoured in the town that M. Paradis attacked Mahfuz Khân, and put him to flight, and that after giving Mylapore over to pillage, he returned to Madras. No messenger or letter confirming this report has arrived from there. Definite news will be received to-day." Thereupon, the Governor suggested a reason explanatory of the delay of the mail from Madras, which was that negotiations for peace might be going on. I did not like to contradict him, and therefore said that it must be as he suggested. He afterwards summoned the Nayinâr, and strictly ordered him to recover the palanquin and censer which had been lost at Vizhuppuram, or the value thereof. He then permitted him to depart. I obtained leave of the Governor to retire, and went to my house. I had only just washed my hands, after having eaten my dinner, when a peon, sent by the Governor, summoned me. I asked him whether letters had arrived from Madras. He replied in the affirmative. I went to the Governor's house, at 2. * He at once said : "Tidings have come from Madras. When on the march with his troops, M. Paradis encountered the army of Mahfuz Khân, who had drawn up his men in four parties around the four sides of the bungalow on the sea-shore, near the estuary † at Mylapore, and had marshalled

Governor's orders to the Nayinar regarding certain lost articles.

He sends for diarist.

And tells him of a battle between M. Paradis and Mahfuz Khan.

* See Appendix.

† The mouth of the Adyar river, which was evidently then considerably nearer Mylapore than it now is.

his matchlock-men, cavalry, and artillery, in battle array.

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"On approaching this force, M. Paradis constructed a breast work of palmyra-trees, formed the soldiers and Mahé sepoys who accompanied him into four divisions, and ordered each of these to engage a separate body of the enemy. He placed himself at the head of the foremost party. On this, three Râchûr rockets and four cannon were fired by the Muhammadans. Their contents fell into the sea and river, and caused no damage. The French opened a fire of musketry on the enemy, killing numbers of them. The Muhammadans threw down their arms, and fled, with dishevelled hair and dress. Some fell dead when in the act of flight. The loss thus caused to them was immense. Maḥfuz Khân also ran on foot, until he reached his elephant, and mounting this, made his escape. He and his troops did not cease their flight until they reached Kunnattûr. The rout was general, so much so that not a fly, not a sparrow, not a crow, was to be seen in all Mylapore. M. Paradis remained there for an hour, and then permitted his soldiers and sepoys to sack the town. After it had been pillaged, he marched with his men towards Madras. On the way, he was joined, near Triplicane, by M. de la Tour, with 200 soldiers and 100 Mahé sepoys, and the combined force then entered Madras. Our troops seized thirty camels, sixty or seventy bullocks, and forty or fifty horses. The camels and bullocks

Details the particulars of the action.

And of the rout of the Muhammadans

He mentions the subsequent movements of M. Paradis.

And his junction with the force from Madras.

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His anger at the delay in effecting this.

were laden with cloths and utensils, and some specie, in pagodas and rupees. If the troops with M. de la Tour had effected a junction a little earlier, the Muhammadans would have been completely crushed. As it is, they have yet some life left in them. Want of promptitude on his part spoiled the undertaking."

Diarist makes some soothing and flattering observations.

The Governor uttered these last words angrily. On this, I observed: "Our victory, as it stands, is a sufficient one. What has never before befallen the Muhammadans, has now overtaken them. No greater evil could have occurred to them. You said that the number of the wounded on our side was only two Mahé sepoys, and that, with this exception, not the slightest harm was sustained by our men. Is not that the result of your good luck? Providence completely protects your interests, for not one single life has been lost in the French force, whilst of the enemy two or three hundred men have fallen. It is by the grace of God that you are able to congratulate yourself on having vanquished such a man as the Nawâb. The capture of Madras was planned by you; but this victory comes to you without your even thinking of it." In these terms, did I sing the praises of the Governor. Madame Dupleix, who was standing by, observed in Tamil: "It is indeed wonderful that not one single soldier of ours should fall in the fight! It is all due to him who is here." "It is, indeed," replied I. "It is not in the least surprising that not one Frenchman was killed in this action

Mme. Dupleix, who is present, speaks in a like strain.

with the Muhammadans. Take, for instance, the capture of Fort Saint George. The English defended it, with a thousand soldiers. The arms and ammunition, shot, shell, and muskets, collected in the fort exceeded, a hundred-fold, what were in Pondichery. They were fighting behind walls, and our army had to advance in the open field. The attack continued for three days, and the fort surrendered; and yet not one of our men was killed. Which do you consider the more remarkable? To me it appears more wonderful to gain a victory over Europeans, without the loss of a single life, than over the Muhammadans, with the same good result." In this strain did I, for two Indian hours, laud the good sense, skill, and valour, of M. Dupleix, and then remarked: "I take to myself the credit of having predicted, in Mârgazhi [December] of last year, the capture of Madras, by M. Dupleix, in that now current." "Besides, did I not tell you," said I to Madame Dupleix, "that the Governor would, by and by, obtain the credit of having vanquished the Nawâb also?" She replied: "Truly, you did." "Now," I said, "see what has befallen M. de la Bourdonnais. Because he resisted the Governor's authority, God raised a storm to discomfit him. He will not escape; the halter which is to encircle his neck is being prepared." "True, true;" replied Madame Dupleix, "whatever you have foretold has, so far, come to pass. I have no doubt that the rest of your predictions will be

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What diarist then said.

He talks for two Indian hours.

His remarks touching M. de la Bourdonnais.

Madame coincides.

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The Governor's observations, on learning what they were talking of.

fulfilled. All the Europeans say that they will prove correct." "What are you talking about," asked the Governor. His wife then repeated to him in detail all that I had said. He thereupon observed: "It is indeed true that all that he has predicted has come to pass. But Muttaiyappan, who has been away for four years, and has now returned, and who . . . *"

He directs diarist to write letters to the Nizam, etc.

Thursday, [*10th*] *November 1746, or 28th Arppisi of Akshaya.*—This morning, I went to see the Governor. He directed me to write letters to the Niẓâm and the Killedars, and to despatch them without delay. He also instructed me to write to Muttaiyappan informing him of what had occurred at Madras, and of the defeat

And to order Muttaiyappan to capture Peddu Nayakkan.

of Mahfuz Khân, and ordering him to effect the capture, by any means in his power, of the poligar, Peddu Nâyakkan. The rest of his conversation with me was, as usual, on miscellaneous subjects. I

Contents of the letter to M. Pillai.

wrote a letter to Muttaiya Pillai instructing him to arrest Peddu Nâyakkan; and to keep order, and maintain peace, in the town of Madras, and despatched the letter by post. There is nothing more that is worthy of record.

Bishop of Negapatam visits Mr. Hinde, at Fort St. David.

The Bishop of Negapatam, who came to see M. Vermont, the Governor of the factory at Porto Novo, near Cuddalore, paid a visit to Mr. Hinde, at Fort St. David; he being his friend. He was asked to

Diarist intimates this to Governor.

dinner, and when he sat down at table, two or three salutes were fired in his honor. Information

* Incomplete in the Tamil copy.

of this reached me to-day at noon; and I reported it to the Governor, this evening.

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V. Subbaiyan reports defeat of Mahfuz Khan.

This morning, Mahâdêva Aiyan delivered to me a letter, from Vakîl Subbaiyan, which he had brought from Arcot. It informed me that Mahfuz Khân was defeated on Friday, the 22nd [4th November], in an action fought at Mylapore, and that he had fled, not even taking his upper garment with him, and had written as follows to his father . . . *

Diarist despatches circulars to certain Killedars.

Friday, 11th November 1746, or 29th Arppisi of Akshaya.—Heard nothing of consequence to-day. I despatched circulars to the Killedars of Porto Novo, Chidambaram, Vazhudâvûr, Timiri, and another place, the name of which has escaped my memory.

Is asked to provide supplies, etc., for marriage of Chanda Sahib's daughter

Some men came to ask me to provide supplies and house-room, on the occasion of the marriage of Chandâ Ṣâhib's daughter. I informed the Governor of this request. He took six little phials of attar of roses from a case which he had, and presented them to the men. He promised to cause a search for a package of twenty durions,† which he knew to be

* Incomplete in the Tamil copy.

† This word occurs again at p. 110, and, from the context, there, evidently refers to a fruit,—apparently the durian, which, as far as can be ascertained, is a fruit confined to Assam, Burmah, and Malaya. It is closely allied to the jack fruit, and is noted for its utterly abominable, penetrating, and all-pervading odour. Eating it requires a special education, but the habit, when once acquired, becomes a passion. I have never heard of its being eaten in Southern India. It is difficult to understand how durians could have found their way to a storehouse at Pondichery, and still more so to comprehend how a package of twenty of them could have gone astray in such a place. The presence of one in a house is sufficient to make the whole of the building unbearable to the unspecialised nose.

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1746.

Wedding gifts made by the Governor.

lodged in the Company's warehouse, and to give it to them when found. When they asked him for the double-barrelled gun, and the single-barrelled one, which he had agreed to give to Chandâ Ṣâḥib's daughter, he sent an order to M. Cornet to provide them. He undertook to send to Madras for almonds, and other articles, and directed me to make a list of what was required. "Very well," said I. The Governor asked me whether the inmates of Kanakarâya Mudali's house would be inclined to let him have the use of it. "I do not know if they would," I replied. He desired me to send for Lazar, and when he came, the Governor questioned him. He said that he was ready to place at the Governor's disposal his own very humble dwelling, as also the house opposite to that of Kanakarâya Mudali, which was the out-house belonging to it. I was then at the areca-nut store-house. The Governor sent for me, and intimated that Lazar had consented to make over his own house, and that in front of Kanakarâya Mudali's. "You must ask," said he, "for the use of the building which Pedro gave to his wife, and in which Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's wife was residing." I replied that when I asked them for it, the owners refused to lend it. He thereupon sent for Malaiyappa Mudali, and demanded of him the keys of the building. He delivered them to the Governor, who sent them to me.

Inquires as to the loan of Kanakarayan's house.

Arrangements made by him with Lazar.

Governor demands an additional house.

And obtaining the keys of it sends them to diarist.

Tânappa Mudali, who, for the last twenty days, was ashamed to appear in public, because all the

business connected with his office had devolved on me, now grew a little bold, and thinking, perhaps, that the excuse for a blind horse was that he stumbled, now showed himself, and told Vîrâ Chetti and others, in confidence, that the Governor had sent for him, and directed him to inquire into the affair of the washermen's depôt. There are people who think that he will yet obtain an appointment, forgetting that if he was to have had it, he would have been confirmed nine months ago. There are some, too, who are perplexed, and do not know what to think, when they remember that his elder brother was chief dubâsh for twenty years, and that, compared with his brother, this man was what the pot is to the asafœtida kept in it, the odour of which it retains long after that substance has been removed. They are also puzzled by the fact that the appointment yet remains vacant, and Tânappa Mudali adds to their astonishment by behaving as if he virtually held it. All will come to light in a few days' time. There is nothing more of consequence to relate. As for Madras news, Monsieur . . . *

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The assertions made by Tânappa Mudali.

Remarks of diarist regarding him.

Saturday, 12th November 1746, or 30th Arppisi of Akshaya.—For the last three days, I have been engaged in writing letters. One was addressed to the Nizâm, and contained the following items: the doings of Maḥfuz Khân, in defiance of his father's

* Blank in the Tamil copy.

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Contents of certain official letters written by diarist.

authority; the defeats sustained by him in two battles; the taking of Madras by the French, under the authority of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân; the capture of French vessels by the English, and their tricks; and the seizure of a ship bearing the Emperor's flag. A letter was also written to Imâm Ṣâḥib in reply to that offering congratulations on the capture of Madras. A copy of that addressed to the Niẓâm was enclosed in this, with the request that Imâm Ṣâḥib would be pleased to explain the contents thereof to him. I wrote also to Imâm Ṣâḥib's son, who is at Mylapore, enclosing the abovementioned letters, requesting him to forward them to his father at the Niẓâm's camp, and asking him to come to Pondichery. I despatched these at half-past 10 this morning.

In the evening, he despatches others.

This evening, I forwarded the letters written to the Killedars, and to Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain, who is at Tinnevelly, concerning the doings of Maḥfuz Khân. I delivered to the three peons who went to Tinnevelly the letter for Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain, and another addressed by Sâmba Aiyan to Gôvanadi Bâli Cheṭṭi.

Complaint to him against Tânappa Mudali.

Ponna Piḷḷai, the son of Nârâyaṇa Piḷḷai, came to me, and said that Tânappa Mudali had sent Gaṇapati and Koṇḍâ Reḍḍi, to deprive him of the accounts which he had in connection with the washermen's depôt, and had directed him to take charge of a particular section, but that he had refused to accept the new appointment because he was asked to

do this work for a single section, although he was formerly engaged in keeping the accounts of the whole depôt. What was written in my horoscope has now been confirmed; namely, that I should live to the age of ninety-nine years, for this day has clearly revealed the enemy who has been so long doing me mischief. What still remains for me to see is his speedy downfall. I have no news of importance to record.

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Sunday, 13th November 1746, or 1st Kârttigai of Akshaya.—The following letters were received at 9, this morning:—Three from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib addressed to the Governor, Tânappa Mudali, and me respectively, three from Asad Ṣâḥib similarly directed, one from Vakîl Sâmba Aiyan, and one to the Governor from M. de Kerjean. The letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib ran as follows: "I have with me, in my house, the three Europeans, whose release I procured by standing surety for them. I struck off their fetters, had them taken to the bath, washed, and clothed, and I give them good food every day. Your people in Madras, and those who came from Pondichery, instead of accepting proposals for peace, attacked the Muhammadans. It is not yet too late to bring about a settlement. One can be effected by delivering Fort St. George into the hands of His Highness Muḥammad Maḥfuz Khân. If this is not done, the Subahdars of Cuddapah and other places; Yâchama Nâyakkan and other poligars; and the munsubahdars, are prepared to attack you

Letters to the Governor, etc., from Husain Sahib, v. Samba Aiyan, and M. de Kerjean.

The first of these threatens force, if Fort St. George is not surrendered.

CHAP. XXXIV. — 1746. And puts forward arguments to induce compliance.

by land. The English will do so by sea, with thirty ships. You will then have to surrender the fort. But if you now give it up to Maḥfuz Khân, you will be regarded as having done us a favour, and the good understanding at present existing between us will continue unimpaired, from generation to generation. How can you hope to carry on your business, if you make an enemy of the ruler of this country? It is on the score of our long-standing friendship that I now address you. Do not imagine that this letter is written in a spirit of bravado. When the ruler of a kingdom is bent on accomplishing an object, he is not easily to be diverted from his purpose." In his letter to the Governor, Asad Ṣâḥib earnestly entreated him to return a favourable answer to the demands made by Nawâb Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and in his letters to me and Tânappa Mudali, he asked us to prevail on the Governor to accede to them. I read and interpreted these letters to the Governor, who directed me to write a reply to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, as follows: "We have never before seen European envoys seized, chained, and otherwise maltreated; neither have we ever heard of such a thing having been done, nor do we imagine that it can occur in the future. We have now seen this atrocity committed. In no country, however high inimical feeling may run between nations, or to whatever excesses they may carry the violence of war, has such a thing been seen or heard of as the fettering, imprisonment, and subjection

Contents of letters from Asad Sahib.

Reply of Governor comments on seizure of French envoys.

to a thousand other indignities, of those who are peacefully travelling as envoys. We have, however, now beheld this done by His Highness Maḥfuz Khân. But we rejoice to hear that you have taken the French envoys out of durance, brought them to your house, given them clothes, and otherwise treated them with courtesy, and have supplied all their wants. For this your kindness, we and our descendants are beholden to you. An act of this kind is as though it had been done to us and ours, and we shall not forget it. We entreat you to set at liberty the three men whom you now have with you. As for Fort St. George, it having once passed under the flag of our King, we cannot give it up without orders from him. The restoration of the fort does not rest with us. So long as we have life left, we will not surrender it." The Governor then directed me to write to Vakîl Subbaiyan authorizing him to furnish M. de Kerjean, and the other captives, with whatever they required from the thousand rupees that he had been ordered to draw. I sent these letters by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's messengers, to whom I gave a present of Rs. 10. M. de Kerjean's servant, an Arab, accompanied them, with his master's clothes.

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Thanks Husain Sahib for his treatment of the captives.

And refuses to give up Fort St. George.

Orders regarding supplies for M. de Kerjean, etc.

According to the latest accounts, Maḥfuz Khân is encamped with 300 horse, and 1,000 foot, at Muttu Râmu Cheṭṭi's choultry, which lies to the westward of Srîperumbûdûr, and eastward of Conjeeveram. M. Paradis, the Commandant of Madras, is living on plunder, and taking his ease. Mr. Hinde,

Latest accounts of Mahfuz Khan.

Of M. Paradis.

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Chap. XXXIV. — 1746. And of the Governor of Fort St. David.

the Governor of Fort St. David, who was once alarmed for the safety of his fort, and then directed the merchants who had contracted to supply cloths to the Company, to sell these outside the fort, and bring the proceeds to him, has now recovered heart a little, and having ordered that the cloths remaining unsold should be brought to him, has examined them, and given directions that they should be bleached. He has disbanded 1,000 of his native troops, which at first numbered 3,000 men. The people who had fled panic-stricken from Cuddalore and Fort St. David, have now returned, bringing with them, little by little, their valuables. These items of news have been received here, from a reliable source.

Return of fugitives from Cuddalore, etc.

It is said that the inhabitants of Porto Novo have betaken themselves to . . . . .* As the French soldiers attacked Vizhuppuram, killed ten men, and sacked the town; as Maḥfuz Khân has been defeated in battle at Mylapore; and as the amaldârs and all the heads of castes under the Nawâb's Government are in hiding, not daring to show their faces within four leagues of their houses, all the inhabitants of Porto Novo have fled in abject terror; some to Chidambaram, and others, temporarily, to Fort St. David, on the ground that that is a safe place of refuge; at least in the existing state of affairs. We must await the course of events.

Reported flight of the inhabitants of Porto Novo.

* Blank in the Tamil copy.

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Monday, 14th November 1746, or 2nd Kârttigai of Akshaya.—To-day, a letter was received from Madras, in which it was stated that the English had been ordered, according to the custom obtaining in Europe, to undertake not to wear swords, or to fight against the French, and to present themselves before their conquerors whenever called upon to do so. It further intimated that the English were preparing to leave Madras. News also arrived that not a vestige of the Muhammadans was to be seen in Mylapore, that the inhabitants of that place, including Paṭhâns, Guzerâtis, Navâits, Tamilians, Telugus, and others, had fled with their little children, and with the property which they had succeeded in saving from plunder, to the Chingleput pâḷaiyam; that Asad Ṣâḥib, the son-in-law of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, had gone as far as Tiṇḍivanam, for the purpose of bringing back with him Badê Ṣâḥib's wife and others, but, on receipt of a letter from her stating that she did not intend to accompany him, and that he need not trouble to come, had returned to Arcot, whence he had set out. There is nothing more of importance to relate.

News of the paroling of the English at Madras.

Of there being no Muhammadans at Mylapore.

And of the movements of Asad Sahib.

I went, as usual, to the Governor, conversed familiarly, with him on the customary topics, and then proceeded to the areca-nut store-house. After a while, he sent for me, and said: "As you know, all the merchants of Madras have left it, and have dispersed in various directions. Write to the whole of them, and invite them to settle

The message sent by the Governor to the merchants o Madras.

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at Pondichery. Tell them that the English have lost all hope of recovering Madras, and are quitting it; and that they must give up any hope that they may have entertained that Madras would yet be restored to the English. Assure them that if they desire to settle at Pondichery, such of their houses and property in Madras as have escaped being sacked and pillaged will be restored to them." I answered that I would write accordingly. The Governor then said: "Why have you not sent your brother to Madras? Would he not be useful in drawing up engagements with the merchants, and granting them leases, etc.?" I replied: "Yes, sir." He continued: "I will hold a Council now, and arrange to send MM. de la Touche, Cotterel, Lhostis, and Herigoyen to Madras. Tell your brother to be ready to start with them." "I will do so," I said; and then came away. The Governor afterwards summoned M. Cotterel, M. de la Touche, and the other two gentlemen, and directed them to be prepared to start for Madras.

And the assurance which accompanies it.

He asks diarist why he has not sent his brother to Madras.

And orders that he shall go thither, with certain officials.

Tuesday, 15th November 1746, or 3rd Kârttigai of Akshaya.—When I went to see the Governor, to-day, he ordered me to bring to him the copies which had been made, for record, of the letters sent two or three days previously to the Nizâm and Imâm Ṣâḥib. I put them into covers, and handed them to him. He took them, saying that he would send copies by way of Masulipatam. I next explained to him the contents of the letters received from Mîr

Diarist furnishes Governor with copies of sundry letters.

And explains the contents of others.

Ḥusain Khân, the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr, and Miyân Ṣâḥib of Perumukkal. The Governor was pleased, and said: "From their letters, it appears that these people are not annoyed at what we wrote concerning the misdoings of Maḥfuz Khân." He continued to talk with me, as usual, concerning the affairs of Madras, and the Muhammadans of Arcot.

Chap. XXXIV — 1746. Governor's remarks thereon.

To-day, I sent a circular to Qâdir Ḥusain Khân, Killedar of the Mahé circle, Zafar Qamr 'Alî Khân the poligar of Karunguzhi, ...* the Killedar of Kâvêripâkkam, Srînivâsa Rao the Killedar of Arni, and Mun Roup Sing the Killedar of old Gingee, complaining of the unjustifiable conduct of Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân, in having provoked the French to war, and having imprisoned their envoys and loaded them with chains.

Diarist sends a circular to certain poligars, etc.

Contents of this.

When I visited the Governor, he mentioned to me that M. Paradis had written to him that the Armenian inhabitants of Madras had promised to settle permanently at Pondichery, and to persuade the other merchants to do the same.

What M. Paradis wrote to the Governor.

Wednesday, 16th November 1746, or 4th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to M. Cornet, to ask him for a supply of superior wheat for the use of Chandâ Ṣâḥib's family. He showed me samples of the wheat and paddy in stock, and said that there were no other grains in the market. I afterwards went to the Governor's house, and

Diarist asks, of M. Cornet, wheat for Chanda Sahib's family.

* Blank in the Tamil copy.

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Contents of a letter to the Governor, from M. 'Ali Khan.

whilst I was there, a letter arrived from Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. The writer characterised the defeat of Maḥfuz Khân as a judgment inflicted on him by Providence, through the instrumentality of the French, for having murdered Ṣafdar 'Alî Khân and his son, and entreated that the measures set on foot for effecting the liberation of Chandâ Ṣâḥib should not be lost sight of. He also observed that the French should teach many other lessons to the son of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and that they would hereafter be regarded with esteem by both the Niẕâm, and the Emperor. He paid many more compliments to the French. I interpreted all this to the Governor, who was greatly pleased, and directed me to write, in very courteous terms, that he was making every endeavour to effect the liberation of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, and that Muḥammad 'Alî should, personally, do what he could in the matter. I prepared a reply in accordance with these orders, and despatchedit. The Governor afterwards directed me to tell Ranga Pillai to make out an indent for china, and other ware, for the use of Chandâ Ṣâḥib's family. He also wrote to Madras for a supply of almonds, raisins, dates, and Bengal durions.*

He causes a courteous reply to be sent.

And takes steps to supply Chanda Sahib's family.

At 5 this evening, MM. de la Touche, Lhostis, Cotterel, and Herigoyen, started for Madras. Prior to his departure, M. de la Touche went at 4 o'clock, to bid farewell to M. Dulaurens, who, in

Departure, for Madras, of certain officials.

* See note at p. 99.

sharp language, demanded of him immediate payment of a thousand pagodas which he owed to M. Dumas. M. de la Touche pleaded hard for time, but M. Dulaurens would not listen, and insisted on instant settlement. I was then summoned by M. de la Touche, who, prefacing that I had with me the gold obtained by trade with Acheen last year and the Colombo arrack supplied this year, desired me to satisfy the demand of M. Dulaurens. "We will, at some future time," said he to me, "settle the balance of our accounts. Please, now, put a stop to the clamour of M. Dulaurens, who, as though I was a perfect stranger to him, claims a payment from me, just when I am about to start on a journey." I prepared a draft for Rs. 3,200, payable at two months' sight, to be sent to M. Dulaurens. Before I wrote it out, an objection was raised to the return, in silver, of a loan contracted in gold, and it was urged that pagodas, of eight touches, should be paid, in satisfaction of the claim. M. Nicholas was called in to settle the difference, and he decided that Rs. 3,200 should be taken in full discharge of the gold debt, and I thereupon drew out the bill in favour of M. Dulaurens. After this, I accompanied M. de la Touche as far as Naiṉiya Piḷḷai's choultry, and then bade him farewell. I next visited Perumâḷ Nâyakkan, Vîrâ Nâyakkan, and, Tiruvêngaḍa Nâyakkan, who were living there, and after chatting with them, returned home.

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Claim made, by M. Dulaurens, on M. de la Touche.

Who asks diarist to satisfy the demand, out of certain funds.

Diarist prepares a draft to be sent to M. Dulaurens.

Difficulty as to paying in silver settled.

Diarist goes part of the way with M. de la Touche.

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Letter to the Governor from V. Subbaiyan.

Thursday, 17th November 1746, or 5th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This evening, I interpreted to the Governor the contents of the letter sent from Arcot by Vakîl Subbaiyan. In it he stated that as Nawâb Âsaf Jâh had ordered all the subahdars, south of the Krishṇa, to hold the bank of that river against the Mahrattas, and check their further advance, His Highness Náwâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had sent his son, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, with 1,500 horse and a small body of infantry, to oppose their progress; that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, after marching northwards, returned to Arcot, with 1,000 horse and a small detachment of foot, and having visited his father, who, for the last three days, had been in a precarious condition, owing to an attack of diarrhœa, went home; that news of Muḥammad 'Alî's arrival was conveyed in writing to Maḥfuz Khân, at Conjeeveram; that the future course of events would be as Maḥfuz Khân directed; that the return of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân was displeasing to Maḥfuz Khân; that an order from the latter, directing the troops of the former to join him, was daily expected; that 1,000 horsemen had been recruited at Arcot; that Husaîn Ṣâḥib was treating the three Europeans with consideration; that some people in Arcot blamed Maḥfuz Khân for his battles with the French, and the defeats which he had sustained; that others predicted that he would incur further disgrace, should he still persist in fighting; and that there were not people wanting to proclaim his foolishness

This gives news of the doings of Muham-mad 'Ali Khan.

Says that these displeased Mahfuz Khan.

And speaks of the views held, at Arcot, as to the fights of Mahfuz Khan with the French.

in having acted in contravention of the orders of the subah [the Court at Arcot]. After I had stated what was contained in the letter, the Governor said to me: "We, however, did not provoke the war. It is they who did so. Send some more suitable men—say five or six—to Arcot, and obtain further intelligence." "I will do so," I replied. He next asked me the news regarding the Governor of Fort St. David. I told him that it was reported to me that he had directed the merchants to bring him goods, in discharge of the debts still due by them; that, in consequence of this, one hundred scores of pieces of unbleached cloth were taken to him for inspection; that he had ordered these to be sent out, in order that they might be bleached; that the people of Fort St. David had now recovered a little from their alarm; that a company of 100 soldiers, and 400 sepoys, with muskets and ammunition, had marched towards Gingee, the man named Kaḍayam Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan accompanying the party on horseback; and that their object was to bring back, in safety, a few Englishmen who had fled from Madras and taken refuge in Gingee. "I verily believe it," quoth the Governor. As it was 10 o'clock, I wished him good night, and returned home.

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Remarks of the Governor on the letter.

Diarist tells him the news regarding the Governor of Fort St. David.

And mentions the march of a force towards Gingee.

Friday, 18th November 1746, or 6th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—To-day, the reply of the Killedar of Timiri to the letter intimating to him that Muḥammad Maḥfuz Khân had, without the consent of his father

Reply of Killedar of Timiri to the letter regarding Mahfuz Khan.

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Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and for no sufficient reason, attacked the French at Madras; that he had seized, fettered, and imprisoned the Europeans who had been sent as envoys to him; and that he was protracting a useless war, arrived. In this, the Killedar wrote: "I have perused all the information conveyed in your letter. What you say in it is just. The proper course for the Muhammadans to follow is to be on friendly terms with you, always. It was wrong of them to have imprisoned the envoys. I will communicate these remarks to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân." I interpreted the contents of the letter to the Governor. He then said to me: "Now that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân has returned, shall we write to him?" I replied: "Of what use would that be? Is he not the younger brother of Maḥfuz Khân? You will probably receive, either to-day or to-morrow, a reply to the letter already addressed to the Nawâb, and it appears to me desirable to await this, before writing to Muḥammad 'Alî. You can, however, act as seems fit." The Governor rejoined: "I agree with you, and will do as you say." I then reported to him that the Muhammadan officials had attempted to arrest the postal servants at Mêṭṭupâḷaiyam and Tiruvêndipuram, who belonged to the establishment of Kârikâl, and that the men had succeeded in escaping. The Governor said to me: "Shall we write a letter of complaint to the Nawâb?" "Not now," I replied: "it does not seem to me to be the wisest course to follow." "Then send to me

Concurs with the view taken by the Governor.

Who asks diarist whether he should write to M. 'Ali Khan.

He counsels delay.

Governor agrees.

Diarist tells him of an attempt to seize certain postal officials.

And advises him not to complain to the Nawab.

the persons who made their escape," exclaimed the Governor. I promised that I would, and having directed the native guard to place the men before the Governor, I went home. On this day, I engaged 50 peons, and sent them on to Muttaiya Pilḷai. Chap XXXIV. 1746.

To-day being that of the *shasti* * observed in honour of the God Subramaṇiyan, the wife of Chinna Parasurâma Pilḷai set up six *kalasas* † in view to invoking the presence of the deity, and religiously performed all the ceremonies fixed for the fast. The gifts distributed on this occasion were liberal, and amounted in value to 400 pagodas, the income of the lady being enormous. Chinna Parasurâma Pilḷai has been lying unconscious for some time past.

Pious act of wife of C. Parasurama Pillai.

Large gifts made by her.

* A fast on the day of the sixth phasis of the moon, in her increase. (Winslow).

† Water pots.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FROM NOVEMBER 19TH, TO DECEMBER 3RD, 1746.

Letter to Governor, from Muhammad Miyân—Condemns the attitude of Mahfuz Khân—And refers to secrets which he desires to communicate—Governor takes steps to obtain the release of Chandâ Şâhib —What the *Princess Marie* brought from Madras—Report regarding Mr. Barneval, and others—Diarist occupies a new storehouse—And performs the usual ceremonies—He visits the agent of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji—Conversation between them—Promise made by diarist—Governor inquires as to news from Arcot—Converses with diarist—Who flatters him much—Governor gives the pedigrees of many of the French in Pondichery—Diarist informs Governor that 'Alî Naqî desires to visit him—Asks permission to introduce H. Tarwâdi—And obtains leave to direct certain persons to depart—V. Subbaiyan writes that the Nawâb thinks of attacking Madras—Relates a conversation between Husain Şâhib and the French captives—States that Husain Şâhib wished him to go to Pondichery—And says that the idea of war is dying out—The reply which is sent to this—Governor directs diarist to write to the Nawâb regarding the restoration of Madras—But, at his suggestion, defers any action—Subsequent conversation between them—Letter from the Killedar of Karunguzhi —Diarist translates this to the Governor—Reply of M. Ghulâm Husain to the letter announcing capture of Madras—Expresses his satisfaction—And refers to certain monetary matters—Governor sends diarist a letter from H. 'Alî Khân—The promise, and request, which it conveys—Conversation between the Governor and diarist —Letter from the Killedar of Gingee to the Governor—Comments severely on Mahfuz Khân—And advises maintaining friendship with the Nawâb—Letters, from Şâdiq Şâhib, to the Governor, and diarist —The former of these advises terms with Mahfuz Khân—The latter urges diarist to send his children, etc., to Vellore—The replies made to these—The agent of Fatteh Sing tenders the help of Mahratta horsemen—Reply which Governor sends to this offer—Subbaiyan reports that M. 'Alî Khân is camped at Sâtpur—That his troops fear to do battle with Europeans—And that Husain Şâhib is sending a Brâhman—He further reports as to release of the French captives—Refers to certain financial arrangements—States that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is in a precarious condition—And asks for some fruit—Governor sends letters to Subbaiyan, and Husain Şâhib—That to the former, instructs him to tell Husain Şâhib of the proposed capture of Fort St. David—And urges obtaining leave from the Nawâb, to carry this out

—Letter to Husain Sâhib contains the same news, and refers him to Subbaiyan—Governor bids diarist write a letter to M 'Alî Khân—Conversation arising from his asking how to draft it—He is finally told to use his own judgment—His draft highly approved—Mr. Morse, his family, and others arrive—M. Barthélemy, and others accompany them—The reception accorded to them—Council-house assigned for their accommodation—They sup with the Governor—Views of diarist as to the attention paid to Mr. Morse—Alludes to the crowd which assembled to see him—And dwells upon the grief that this must have caused him—Reflections of diarist on this subject—Search ordered for property set down by the followers of Mr. Morse—Many cloths found—Complaint made that soldiers and sepoys will not give up certain property—The orders passed by the Governor—The articles produced—Property of merchants, etc., secured at Mylapore when Madras was taken—What they did on the arrival there of Mahfuz Khân—Mylapore completely sacked after the battle—Plunder thus acquired brought by the followers and guards of Mr. Morse—M. Le Bon detailed to levy duty on this—His dishonest conduct—Gross thefts committed by the soldiers on duty—Estimated value of the spoil of Mylapore—Amount which Muttaiya Pillai, alone, obtained—Remarks as to others—Diarist's opinion as to the fate of wealth so acquired—Reply of Muhammad 'Alî Khân to the Governor's letter—Says that permission to attack Madras should have been obtained from Nawâb—Details the results of failure to do this—And specifies his conditions of intercession, on the Governor's behalf—Remark of Governor on hearing the letter, and reply of diarist—Conversation as to capturing Fort St. David—Governor directs diarist to hire cattle to carry rice from Fort St. David, etc.—This done—Complaint made, by Tânappa Mudali, to the Governor—His object in doing this—Diarist reports the hiring of bullocks—Informs him as to the state of affairs at Fort St. David—And gives particulars of artillery and garrison—Mr. Stratton, and family, arrive from Madras—At the desire of the Governor, diarist criticises certain drafts—And objects to a passage—Governor causes it to be altered—Diarist approves, and the letters are made ready—Message to diarist from the wife of Chandâ Sâhib—This refers to cloths alleged to have belonged to S. 'Alî Khân—And states how they, with certain money, etc., came into his possession—And subsequently into that of K. D. Bukkanji—It explains how S. 'Alî Khân's intentions to make restoration to their owner were not carried out—Gives the names of those cognizant of the matter—And promises a reward if diarist makes recovery—What the Governor said when diarist reported this matter—Directs him to obtain the views of C. Sâhib's wife—Governor asks the news from Fort St. David—Diarist reports the state of Cuddalore—The details of garrison, etc., at Fort St. David—And the force of native troops around it—Governor then says that he will go to Fort St. David, to capture it—Flattering remarks made by diarist.

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Letter to Governor, from M. Miyan.

Saturday, 19th November 1746, or 7th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—The reply of Muḥammad Miyân of Chidambaram to the letter addressed to him in a style similar to that of those written to the Killedars, was received to-day. It said: "Your letter has reached me, and I have perused it with much pleasure. The attitude of Maḥfuz Khân is certainly unjustifiable. It appears that God has ordained the overthrow of his kingdom. You must be as watchful as ever. I have a few secrets to intrust to you. They are not such as can be committed to writing. Send persons, in your confidence, to whom I may communicate them." The Governor listened, with satisfaction, to my interpretation of this letter, which also made mention of some other matters. He then requested Râjô Paṇḍit, the accountant of the household of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, to write, in suitable terms, to Fatteh Sing, Raghôji Bhônsla, Srîpati Rao, Sau Bhâji Rao, and Amânat Khân the son of Shâh Aḥmad Khân, who was in the service of the Niẓâm, negotiating for the liberation of his master. Râjô Paṇḍit agreed to do this.

Condemns the attitude of Mahfuz Khan.

And refers to secrets which he desires to communicate.

Governor takes steps to obtain the release of Chanda Sahib.

What the *Princess Marie* brought from Madras.

The ship *Princess Mary* arrived to-day, from Madras. She is reported to have on board the merchandise of the English Company, which was seized there; the goods and effects of Mr. Barneval and his followers, those of Coja Petrus, Coja Tatouse, and a few others; the personal effects of M. Barthélemy, M. de Bury, and others; and twenty-five English soldiers. It is also reported that Mr. Barneval,

Report regarding Mr. Barneval, and others.

M. Barthélemy, M. de Bury, Petrus, Tatouse, Mr. Morse the Governor of Madras, Mr. Monson the Deputy Governor, and other Englishmen, are coming from Madras to Pondichery, next Monday.

Diarist occupies a new store-house.

I gave up the lease of Nallanna Mudali's house, in which I hitherto stored piece-goods, and engaged the house of Bâlaiyappa Mudali, in Râju Street, to which I transferred my merchandise, to-day. This evening, at the time of the rising of Taurus, I performed the ceremony of occupying the house for the first time. I presented betel and nut to the guests whom I had invited, and having duly completed the ceremony, went home at 8.

And performs the usual ceremonies.

He visits the agent of K. D. Bukkanji.

Sunday, 20th November 1746, or 8th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the house of Harisankar Tarwâḍi, who acts as agent for Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, and who arrived here the day before yesterday. I paid my respects to him, and said: "I heard that you arrived here the day before yesterday, and that you are unwell. You have been away for two years and a half. I am glad that you have returned here after so long an absence. Your younger brother, who managed your affairs, during your absence, has conducted himself creditably." Harisankar spoke to me of his journey to Tirupati, and of his illness. He said that he was now better, and expressed the hope that Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji and I would be friends for ever. He presented me with two shawls, worth 20 pagodas. I accepted them, with suitable acknowledgments, and as I was

Conversation between them.

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1746.

Promise made by diarist.

preparing to go to the Governor's house, Tarwâḍi asked me to introduce him to the Governor. I promised to do so, and departed on my errand.

Governor inquires as to news from Arcot.

Converses with diarist.

The Governor asked me whether any news had arrived from Arcot. I replied that some might be expected, in the course of the day. I then conversed with him on the affairs of Madras, and those of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân of Arcot, Maḥfuz Khân, and the English. I spoke to him of the high point which his good fortune had reached, of the success which attended all his undertakings, and of the defeat of his enemies; of his own high birth, and of the low parentage of those associated with him in the Government. He exclaimed: "What you say is true; all the Councillors of Pondichery are of very low estate in their own country." He gave me the pedigrees of most of the Frenchmen in Pondichery. "But you must remember," said he, "that of all the men here, M. d'Auteuil is the first as regards family. You, however, cannot know who are of high birth, and who are not." I confessed my ignorance, and seasoned my speech with suitable flattery. This conversation between me and the Governor lasted for nearly four Indian hours. At the end of it, I intimated to him that 'Alî Naqî desired to pay him a visit of ceremony. "What should be done?" asked he. I replied: "A salute of fifteen guns should be fired in his honour. Presents of broad-cloth, flasks of Hungary water, and so on, should be made to him in accordance

Who flatters him much.

Governor gives the pedigrees of many of the French in Pondichery.

Diarist informs Governor that 'Ali Naqi desires to visit him.

with custom." "Do as you think fit," said the Governor. I next asked permission to introduce Harisankar Tarwâḍi, to him, at some future time. "Do as you like," he exclaimed. I next requested instructions in certain matters. "Do as you will," said the Governor. I then spoke to him on behalf of the postal servants belonging to Kârikâl, and asked whether I might send them away, as they desired to return to the places from which they had come, on the score that they were urged to do so by the people living there, who were amicably disposed towards them. "If you see no objection, you may tell them to go," replied he. I accordingly directed the men to depart. It being now midday, I obtained leave to go home.

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Asks permission to introduce H. Tarwadi.

And obtains leave to direct certain persons to depart.

At 4 in the afternoon, the Governor summoned me to translate to him a letter which had been received from Vakîl Subbaiyan of Arcot, who wrote as follows: "Ḥusain Ṣâḥib has informed me that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is planning an advance against Madras, as the Governor of Pondichery continues firm in his refusal to restore it. He asked me if it was true that one of the French captives here is the son of the elder sister of the Governor of Pondichery. I replied that M. de Bury's son was so related. Ḥusain Ṣâḥib thereupon sent for the three French prisoners, and made them give him an account of the capture of Madras. When they described the effect of the shells fired during the siege, he was greatly astonished. He asked them to write a letter to the

V. Subbaiyan writes that the Nawab thinks of attacking Madras.

Relates a conversation between Husain Sahib and the French captives.

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Governor of Pondichery, but they declined, saying that they were not worthy to do so. He thereupon considered whom he might send as his agent to Pondichery. He asked me if I would go. I replied that I could not do so without the Governor's permission. I request that twenty candles may be forwarded for the use of the prisoners, and also that an interpreter, who knows French, may be sent. The idea of war is not now so hotly discussed as it was; they are growing cool with regard to it. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has returned from Trichinopoly, with 300 horse." I told all this to the Governor, who directed me to send a reply to Subbaiyan, in the following terms: "Do not return to Pondichery, even though you are desired to do so. See carefully to the welfare of the three Frenchmen. Twenty candles are sent, as requested. Keep us correctly informed of everything that occurs in Arcot." I despatched the letter, as well as the candles; and I also sent an interpreter acquainted with French. When the Governor and I were discussing the affairs of the Muhammadans—Madanânda Paṇdit being at the time present—he directed me to write to the Nawâb saying that he was willing to restore Madras if he would, on his part, grant territory, including Villiyanallûr and the surrounding taluk, yielding a revenue of 20,000 pagodas a year. I suggested that the proposal should not emanate from us now, but that we should wait until it was made by the other side. The Governor

States that Husain Sahib wished him to go to Pondichery.

And says that the idea of war is dying out.

The reply which is sent to this.

Governor desires diarist to write to the Nawab regarding restoration of Madras.

But, at his suggestion, defers any action.

agreed with me. "I cannot," he said, "accept the terms which the Muhammadans may propose to me, merely because my nephew is a prisoner in their hands. I must follow the course which I have laid down for myself, irrespective of the interests of the persons concerned. This is in accordance with the code of honour of the French nation." In illustration of this, he told me many anecdotes bearing on the point. "We must, however," he continued, "use every endeavour to induce the merchants of Madras to come to, and settle at, Pondichery." I listened to all that he said, making, from time to time, such replies as were expected. He then went out for a drive, and I betook myself to the areca-nut store-house. Whilst I was there, a letter came from Khân Bahâdur Rahîm Zafar 'Alî Khân the Killedar of Karunguzhi pâḷaiyam and son-in-law of Hirâsat Khân, in reply to the circular sent to him. I went to the Governor, and translated the letter to him. It ran as follows: "I have perused your letter. I have nothing to write to you. Whatever God has foreordained will assuredly come to pass. Justice leads to victory; injustice to defeat. The truth of this maxim is borne out by the events that have occurred." The Governor listened, with satisfaction, to what I read.

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Subsequent conversation between them.

Letter from Killedar of Karunguzhi.

Diarist translates this to the Governor.

Monday, 21st November 1746, or 9th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—Mîr Ghulâm Husain's reply to the letter of courtesy, informing him of the capture of Fort St. George, arrived this evening, from Tinnevelly,

Reply of Ghulam Husain to the letter announcing capture of Madras.

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Expresses his satisfaction.

And refers to certain monetary matters.

and was forwarded through his father. It expressed the writer's extreme satisfaction at the taking of Madras, and conveyed the wish that the French might gain many such victories. "The faces of your enemies," continued the letter, "have been blackened. I rejoice in your victory, as though it were my own. As regards the payment of interest due on the debt, my father has not communicated anything to me. If you have already liquidated it, well and good. If not, do so at once." I conveyed all this to the Governor, who directed me to remind him on the morrow regarding the payment of the interest.

Governor sends diarist a letter from Hasan 'Ali Khan.

The promise, and request, which it conveys.

Conversation between the Governor and diarist.

He sent me a letter which he had received, by the Madras post, from Ḥasan 'Alî Khân the son of Imâm Ṣâḥib, who wrote as follows: "I have forwarded your letters to the Niẓâm, and Imâm Ṣâḥib. As yours to me was put into my hands when I was about to start for Tyâgar, and had already sent my baggage in advance, I have been compelled to postpone my journey to Pondichery, for which I shall start in a few days' time. Send me a draft for Rs. 10,000, to meet my expenses." I interpreted this letter to the Governor, who directed me to obtain, from the merchants, a draft for Rs. 10,000. I replied that I would ask Ḥasan 'Alî's people at Pondichery to negotiate for it. The Governor agreed to my suggestion. We then discussed, amongst other subjects, the best means to induce the Madras merchants to settle in Pondichery;

the confusion into which the Nawâb's court at Arcot had been thrown by a false report that the French were marching to surprise the town; and how, when it turned out that the supposed troops were nothing more than a hundred fugitive English soldiers who were passing Arcot, the Nawâb, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, dismissed his fears, and regained his equanimity. At the close of our conversation, I took leave, and went home.

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Wednesday, 23rd November 1746, or 11th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, I translated to the Governor a letter from the Killedar of old Gingee. This said: "I was greatly rejoiced on reading your letter. Mahfuz Khân's conduct cannot be justified. Heaven will mete out retribution to him. Youth, wealth, or power, each one alone, is sufficient to bring the possessor of it to ruin. Mahfuz Khân, however, has all three of these. To crown his other failings, he has, also, an evil disposition. What more can I say to account for his conduct? It is, however, well to maintain friendly relations with the Nawâb." I explained to the Governor these remarks, and the other friendly terms in which the letter was couched, and he was pleased.

Letter, from the Killedar of Gingee, to Governor.

Comments severely on Mahfuz Khan.

And advises maintaining friendship with the Nawab.

Sâdiq Sâhib sent, from Vellore, a letter addressed to the Governor, and another to me. To the Governor he wrote: "I am grateful for the protection which you extended to me, in Pondichery, during the time of the Mahratta inroads. Mahfuz Khân swears that he will capture Madras, and

Letters, from Sadiq Sahib, to the Governor, and diarist.

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1746.

The former of these advises terms with Mahfuz Khan.

The latter urges diarist to send his children, etc., to Vellore.

The replies made to these.

Pondichery. I would advise you, therefore, to make peace with him, or if you will not, to be on your guard." He dwelt further on this subject. In his letter to me he wrote: "It would be well if you send your children and valuables to Vellore. I will depute horsemen and peons to protect them on the way. I will also provide carriages, and dhoolies to carry your children. Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân has reached this, after his defeat, and has not abandoned the idea of capturing Madras and Pondichery. Come if you can; but if you cannot, at least send your children here, in order that they may be in safety." I interpreted these friendly letters of Ṣâḍiq Ṣâḥib to the Governor, who, with a smile, directed me to write in acknowledgment, assuring him of the continuance of good feeling between them, and stating that the time would come when he, too, would write to the Governor as a friend, congratulating him on the successes which he would, by the favour of Heaven, gain over Maḥfuz Khân, even though the latter should come at the head of all his forces, and be supported by all his allies. I wrote a reply accordingly; I also wrote another, couched in due terms of regard, to the letter addressed to me, and despatched them both.

Agent of Fatteh Sing tenders the help of Mahratta horsemen.

Some time ago, one Kêsava Rao, who came from the Mahrattas, as the agent of Fatteh Sing, arrived here to treat touching the affairs of the Râjâ of Tanjore. He now sent a letter in the subjoined terms: "Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad

'Alî Khân are both collecting troops to attack you. If you will send me 5,000 pagodas, I will come with 2,000 Mahratta horse, and put to rout the whole of the Muhammadan army." On my translating this to the Governor, he told me to write in reply, acknowledging the courtesy, and declining the offer of aid, on the ground that troops had arrived from France in great numbers, and that the Governor of Pondichery was at a loss to know how, or where, to employ them. I wrote accordingly, and despatched the letter.

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Reply which Governor sends to this offer.

A communication arrived, to-day, from Subbaiyan. It stated that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp was pitched at Sâtpur, which he had occupied with a thousand horse, on the 8th instant [20th November]; that the talk of the camp was of an advance against Pondichery, but that the behaviour of the men gave the lie to their words, for the troopers, the Jemadars, and their commander Muhammad 'Alî turned pale with alarm, and looked as if they had been overwhelmed by the incarnation of misfortune, whenever it was seriously proposed to them to do battle with the Europeans; and that they talked bravely, though their hearts were quaking with exceeding fear. Husain Şâhib, so the writer stated, was sending a Brâhman to the Governor, who was requested to show the new comer some civility, and to look to his wants. Subbaiyan further said that the liberation of the French captives was not of easy accomplishment, that he was continually considering

Subbaiyan reports that M. 'Ali Khan is camped at Satpur.

That his troops fear to do battle with Europeans.

And that Husain Sahib is sending a Brahman.

He further reports as to release of the French captives.

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the subject, and that he would let the Governor know when the undertaking appeared likely to succeed. He also mentioned that he would draw on the agents at Lâlâpêttai, in Arcot, for 1,000 rupees; that he would pay 100 to Gulâb Sing, that he was supplying all the wants of the French prisoners, that he intended to take out of the 1,000 rupees only the amount now absolutely required, leaving the remainder in the hands of the agents, to be drawn whenever it was wanted, and that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân passed sixty or seventy motions a day, and was not likely to live much longer. I told this to the Governor. Subbaiyan further said in his letter that when Kanakarâya Mudali was living, he used to receive fruit, but that he got none now. He asked that a basket of guavas might be sent. The Governor accordingly ordered that one should be forwarded.

Refers to certain financial arrangements.

States that Anwar-ud-din Khan is in a precarious condition.

And asks for some fruit.

He then summoned me, and told me, in private, to write to Subbaiyan, and Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. The letter to the former was to the following effect: "Let Ḥusain Ṣâḥib know, that, to put an end to the ill-feeling which exists between us and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, we propose to attack and capture Fort St. David, and to give the Muḥammadans possession of the adjoining villages and country. We contemplate occupying the fort for a time, and then transferring it to them. Tell Ḥusain Ṣâḥib that they need not restore the fort, or villages, to the English, after they have passed into their hands, and urge

Governor sends letters to Subbaiyan, and Husain Sahib.

That to the former, instructs him to tell Husain Sahib of the proposed capture of Fort St. David.

him to conciliate the Nawâb, and speedily obtain from him an order for us to attack Fort St. David. Explain all this to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and let us know, as soon as possible, what he says." The Governor further directed me to write to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib the details conveyed in the letter addressed to Subbaiyan, and to add: "Our vakîl will visit you, and explain everything, fully. If you accede to our request, and effect the accomplishment of our object, it will redound to your credit, and there will be no friendship lost between us. We will continue to be at peace with Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Ṣâḥib." After I had written these two letters, I sent them away by messengers. The original drafts were lodged in the custody of Madanânda Paṇḍit. Thus much for the news of to-day.

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And urges obtaining leave from the Nawab, to carry this out.

Letter to H. Sahib contains the same news, and refers him to Subbaiyan.

Thursday, 24th November 1746, or 12th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—The Governor said to me, to-day: "Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, has, as you know, returned from a campaign on the banks of the Krishṇa, beyond the Pass. Now write a letter to him." I replied: "I will, if you so desire, but give me instructions how to draft it." "For the last forty days," exclaimed he, "you have, at my bidding—which has been to use your discretion—written letters to various persons, and even to the Nizâm, without once asking for any hints from me. How is it that, in this instance, you seek for directions to guide you in drafting one?" "Hitherto," I replied, "I had no

Governor bids diarist write a letter to M. 'Ali Khan.

Conversation arising from his asking how to draft it.

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occasion to ask for express instructions, as your custom has been to hold a conversation with me on the subject of a letter, before requiring me to write it, and, from that, I gathered your views on the matter, and framed my communications accordingly." "Well, well," said the Governor, "write now without having obtained any such clue to my ideas. Use your own judgment in drafting the letter. This will be a test of your ability." I did so, and read it out to him. He approved highly of it, and ordered me to despatch it, which I did by two peons.

He is finally told to use his own judgment.

His draft highly pproved.

At 5 this evening, Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, with his wife and children, Mr. Monson, Deputy Governor of Madras, and five or six more Englishmen, arrived, accompanied by MM. Barthélemy, de Bury, de laVillebague, and Delarche; a few other Europeans, 200 soldiers, and 100 sepoys. One hundred soldiers, fifty Mahé sepoys, and a few officers, went out from Pondichery, as far as Kâlâpêṭṭai, to meet them. The party, having dined there at noon, set out in the evening. M. Dupleix and the Councillors joined it, at Mînâkshi Ammâḷ's choultry, and returned with it. As they passed through the Madras gate of the town, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired; and a similar one was accorded when the whole party entered the Governor's house. A third salute was fired when they sat down to drink wine. The conversation at table continued for two Indian hours, and at the end of that time the Governor's wife

Mr. Morse, his family, and others arrive.

M. Barthélemy and others accompany them.

The reception accorded to them.

took the guests away, to show them the building assigned for their accommodation. This was the Council-house, situated to the west of the Governor's mansion, and it had already been furnished, with bedsteads and other requisites, for the use of its occupants. Having seen their apartments, the guests returned to the Governor's house, where supper was served, and when this was over, they went to the Council-house for the night.

CHAP. XXXV. — 1746. Council house assigned for their accommodation

They sup with the Governor.

Now, all the attention paid to the ex-Governor of Madras, and his party, was uncalled for. If Mr. Morse had visited Pondichery during the time that he still held the Governorship of Madras, so much respect would not have been shown to him, but, on the contrary, much less. Because M. Dupleix received Mr. Morse with great honour, the whole town praised his magnanimity. The number of those composing the crowd which gathered along the road from the boundary hedge to the Governor's house, to see Mr. Morse pass, was beyond all calculation. The people were so densely packed that room could not have been found sufficient to let fall even a grain of gingelly-seed amidst them. It may be imagined, then, how much Mr. Morse must have felt his position, when the eyes of all the people in the town were thus concentrated upon him. To picture the grief which he must have experienced, and the measure of it, is not in my power. Joy and sorrow are twin-born in this world. A reverse of fortune is, in the eyes of the wise, no disgrace.

Views of diarist as to the attention paid to Mr. Morse.

Alludes to the crowd which assembled to see him.

And dwells upon the grief that this must have caused him.

Reflections of diarist on this subject.

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The downfall of Fort St. George, and the sufferings inflicted on its defenders, are only the inscrutable dispensations of Providence. But evil should not befall even our enemies.

Search ordered for property set down by the followers of Mr. Morse.

At 8 at night, the Governor summoned me, and said: "Many goods, and property of various kinds, have been set down all along the road between your choultry and Muttiyâlpêṭṭai, by the people who accompanied Mr. Morse's party. Order the poligar's* men to institute a search in the houses in that direction, in case any goods should be secreted within them; and let everything that is found be brought to the town-gate." In consequence of this, innumerable cotton cloths were taken there, and the Governor directed M. Le Bon to inspect them, and order their removal.

Many cloths found.

Friday, 25th November 1746, or 13th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—The poligar's men complained to the Governor that some of the French soldiers and Mahé sepoys refused to deliver up their goods and baggage, and even assumed a threatening attitude, when asked for them. Thereupon, the Governor ordered M. Duquesne, with twenty soldiers, to accompany the poligar's peons, and to have all the baggage, whether it belonged to the French soldiers, or to the sepoys, or was the property of the English, or of their Governor, conveyed to the Madras gate. When the refractory soldiers heard

Complaint made that soldiers and sepoys will not give up certain property.

The orders passed by the Governor.

* The chief of the peons.

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that the goods found were being inspected at the Muttiyâlpêṭṭai gate, they brought out those which they had secreted in the native houses in that quarter, and took them to the gate. M. Le Bon was deputed to inspect the articles that had been brought to, and deposited at the town-gate, both to-day, and yesterday. He made an inventory of them all, and allowed them to be carried into the town.

The articles produced.

When Madras was captured, the merchants of that town, as well as many inhabitants, including Muḥammadans and Guzerâtis living therein, fearing that if they asked for the protection of the police, their property would be stolen by them, deposited it for safety at Mylapore, which was in Muḥammadan territory, and where they had long-standing business relations, and they continued in hiding in the surrounding villages, including Nungambâkkam, Saidapet, Kôḍambâkkam, and Poonamallee. When Maḥfuz Khân, the son of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, arrived at Mylapore, some of the merchants shook off their fears, and were confident that, with his army, he would wrest Madras from the French, and restore it to the English. In this hope, some allowed their goods to remain at Mylapore, but a few, who were doubtful as to the course of events, caused their goods and families to be removed, for safety, to the Chingleput pâḷaiyam, the fort at Poonamallee, and other places, and they, themselves, remained in Mylapore. After defeating Maḥfuz Khân, and putting him and his army to flight,

Property of merchants, etc., secured at Mylapore when Madras was taken.

What they did on the arrival there of Mahfuz Khan.

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Mylapore completely sacked after the battle.

M. Paradis gave the Muhammadan camp, and Mylapore, over to plunder. The French soldiers, sepoys, and camp followers, then set to work in a methodical manner, and completely gutted the town. On Saturday, the 23rd instant [5th November], Mylapore was again sacked by the French troops, on their own account. The Pariahs, Paḷḷis, Muhammadans, and other people of Mylapore, as well as the populace of the surrounding country, joined in pillaging. Thus, between them, the spoil was extensive. That of Madras when it was seized by the French, was nothing compared with it. Many of the Madras merchants were ruined by the sack of Mylapore. What the people of Pondichery acquired by the pillage of that town was conveyed by porters, carriers, and peons, in the train of Mr. Morse, and by his guard of 200 soldiers and 100 Mahé sepoys. Even Muṭṭaiya Piḷḷai, Arumpâtai Piḷḷai, and others, who went to Madras from Pondichery, took this opportunity of sending away their share of plunder.

Plunder thus acquired brought by the followers and guards of Mr. Morse.

M. Le Bon detailed to levy duty on this.

As directed by the Governor, M. Le Bon took post at the town-gate, to assess the goods and other articles thus brought away, and to levy duties thereon, previous to their being taken into the town. He valued property worth 100 pagodas, at only 10 pagodas, or even less; but never more. He even permitted the removal of goods, without assessing them at all. It would take up much time to relate all the irregularities practised on

His dishonest conduct.

this occasion. The goods brought by the soldiers and sepoys were passed duty free, and they were not even examined. Whilst this sort of thing was going on, a few soldiers were busily engaged in laying hands on whatever they could, before the very eyes of M. Le Bon himself; and he kept his tongue between his teeth. Two or three Frenchmen who were with him followed his example. The quantity of property which stuck to the fingers of the twenty French soldiers who were ordered to pass goods through the Muttiyâlpêṭṭai gate, was beyond all bounds. The work of pillage was carried out in many different ways.

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Gross thefts committed by the soldiers on duty.

It was estimated that the spoil of Mylapore amounted in value to ten lakhs of pagodas. If this figure is too high, it may safely be put down at half that amount. Muṭṭaiya Piḷḷai,* alone, obtained by plunder 10,000 rupees. Such was the estimate of the merchants. Indeed, those who saw his goods when they passed through the hands of M. Le Bon valued them at much more. It must be borne in mind that this was the value set upon what Muṭṭaiya Piḷḷai sent to Pondichery. Who knows what he obtained in ready money, or the amount of goods he laid by in Madras? If this man, who went to Madras but yesterday, has acquired so much wealth, what considering the extent to which that place had been abandoned, must have been the riches that fell into the hands

Estimated value of the spoil of Mylapore.

Amount which Muttaiya Pillai, alone, obtained.

Remarks as to others.

* Chief of the peons (Police).

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Diarist's opinion as to the fate of wealth so acquired.

of those who accompanied the French, on the original expedition, and who continue to dwell in Madras to this day. Such ill-gotten wealth, however, will never prosper in the hands of its possessor. Even that which he previously had will be taken away from him. So it has been; and so it will be. I cannot form an idea as to how many men have been ruined, and driven to cry aloud in their distress. The whole of the property thus infamously acquired will, assuredly, melt away.

Reply of Muhammad 'Ali Khân to the Governor's letter.

Thursday, 1st December 1746, or 19th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, the reply of Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân, son of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn K͟hân, to the letter addressed to him about a week ago, was brought by our Company's peons and some of his messengers. I read it, and communicated the contents to the Governor. Muḥammad' Alî K͟hân, after expressing a desire to preserve alliance with the French, wrote as follows: "At the time that you were about to advance on Madras, it was imperative on you to obtain the permission of the Nawâb Ṣâhib, and to accompany the troops sent by him to assist you. But as you failed to do so, you should have captured Madras from the sea. Since, however, it was attacked by you, both by land and sea, it has become incumbent on us to ask you to justify your proceedings. Maḥfuz K͟hân went to Madras, in order to effect a reconciliation between you and the English, but your soldiers attacked him. As I had been directed by the Niẓâm to advance against the Mahrattas, with a strong

Says that permission to attack Madras should have been obtained from the Nawab.

Details the results of failure to do this.

force, I marched to the scene of action, in command of a large army fully equipped with cannon, muskets, and other arms. Peace being restored, I returned to Arcot, and am now making a tour in these provinces. As you have always manifested friendship for, confidence in, and respect towards, the Nawâb, ever since he became the ruler of Arcot, and as he, in return, has always endeavoured to promote friendship and alliance with you, he would readily and cheerfully have aided you with as many contingents of cavalry and infantry as you required, if you had asked for his help. But you never did this. You have even plundered Mylapore. You have caused disturbances at Vizhuppuram. But; let by-gones be by-gones. If you really desire to preserve the good will of His Highness, and alliance with him, specify to me, in writing, the acts by which you are prepared to show your loyalty; and I will intercede for you with him, and effect a reconciliation."

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And specifies his conditions of intercession on the Governor's behalf.

When I interpreted this spiritless and undignified epistle to the Governor, he smiled with disdain, and exclaimed: "See how actively he is preparing for war!" I answered: "Did I not tell you, before this, that your fortune is in the ascendant? Either Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, or Nizâm-ul-Mulk, will die. Their territories will be taken possession of by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, or Taqî Sâhib. If neither Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, nor Nizâm-ul-Mulk should fall, they will at least be involved in a war, and will be worsted. Fear will then induce them to come

Remark of Governor on hearing the letter, and reply by diarist.

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to terms. I do not apprehend any danger. Hold to your own line, without hesitation, and God will favour your undertaking. Did I not say this long ago? Shape, however, your policy to fit existing circumstances." "True;" replied the Governor, "unless Fort St. David soon falls into our hands, trade at Pondichery cannot be expected to flourish."

Conversation as to capturing Fort St. David.

On this I exclaimed: "Now that its existence is felt by you to be inimical to your interests, consider it as good as taken." "How so?" asked he. "The present course of events," I replied, "leads me to say so. Matters are also ripe for the capture of the place." The Governor smiled at my conjecture, and gave me orders to secretly hire 150 bullocks, for the purpose of bringing in all the rice that could be obtained from Fort St. David, Cuddalore, and the adjoining villages. He said that, at all events, they must be sent there with some merchandise, and should carry back grain. I accordingly despatched Muruga Piḷḷai to engage bullocks for the purpose of fetching the paddy, which I said had been consigned to me from outlying places. He returned, and reported that he had obeyed my instructions.

Governor directs diarist to hire cattle to bring rice from Fort St. David, etc.

This done.

Tânappa Mudali, who had not been seen outside his house since the 5th Arppisi [18th October], went to the Governor to-day, and complained that attempts were being made to extort bribes from the weavers of Azhisapâkkam, who lay in prison. His object in doing this was that I should take the matter

Complaint made by Tanappa Mudali, to the Governor.

His object in doing this.

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up, and, by my representations, induce the Governor to order the release of the weavers. But I was not inclined to help him.

Friday, 2nd December 1746, or 20th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—No news of greater importance to-day than the following. I conversed freely with the Governor, and informed him that I had settled the hire of the 150 bullocks engaged to go to Cuddalore, at $\frac{3}{8}$ * fanam a day, for each bullock. I also reported to him the present state of Fort St. David, and told him that the houses there were now being levelled to the ground, and that the people, disquieted by the rumour that the French at Pondichery contemplated an attack on their town, were leaving their houses at nightfall, and returning to them at day-break. The unguarded condition of the fort, the number of the guns mounted in it, and the strength of the garrison—which consists of 500 Europeans, East Indians, and sepoys—were all made known to the Governor.

Diarist reports the hiring bullocks.

Informs him as to the state of affairs at Fort St. David.

And gives particulars of artillery and garrison.

Mr. Stratton, third member of the English Council, at Madras, and his family, arrived in a boat, to-day, on a visit to Mr. Morse. A bronze mortar was landed from the boat.

Mr. Stratton, and family arrive from Madras.

Saturday, 3rd December 1746, or 21st Kârttigai of Akshaya.—To-day, I went to see the Governor. Five or six days ago, he said to Râjô Pandit, the

* The value of this was a trifle more than three farthings.

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accountant at Chandâ Ṣâḥib's house: "In case that I have to write to Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Sing, Bhâji Rao, Srîpati Rao, and Sâhu Râjâ, please prepare drafts; I will revise them, and send the letters on." Râjô Paṇḍit accordingly brought certain drafts, which he read to the Governor. to-day. The latter asked my opinion of them. I replied: "They, very properly, mention the fact that since the removal of the Navâit family from the Subah, and the accession of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, not only has the country been ruined, but, owing to this unjust war with the French, the Subah has lost an annual profit of two lakhs of pagodas, which were made through trading in the towns on the sea-board, and many people have been deprived of their means of livelihood. With reference, however, to the words in the draft 'If you send Chandâ Ṣâḥib, I will be responsible for the money payable by him, etc.', I submit that you should not commit yourself in that way. The remainder is good." The Governor agreed with me, and desired the substitution of the words "As regards the amount for which Chandâ Ṣâḥib holds himself liable, I will endeavour to collect it, as your agent. I will use all my influence to ensure that this money reaches you. Without my help he would not be able to collect a cash." When he asked me to give my opinion regarding this, I said: "It is quite proper; we can write in those terms." The Governor then instructed me to prepare the letters accordingly.

At the desire of the Governor, diarist criticises certain drafts.

And objects to a passage

Governor causes it to be altered.

Diarist approves, and the letters are made ready.

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Message to diarist, from Chanda Sahib's wife.

The wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib sent word to me as follows:

"Harisankar Tarwâḍi, the agent of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, came here, and reported that cloths of various qualities had disappeared during the battle at Mylapore. He asked the Governor to give him a letter of recommendation to the authorities at Madras. It seems that the Governor said to him: 'Bring me a list of the cloths that are missing; I will send it to Madras, and see to the restoration of your property.' Those cloths do not belong to him, but to Ṣafdar 'Alî K͟hân. This is how they fell into the hands of Harisankar Tarwâḍi.

This refers to cloths alleged to have belonged to S. 'Ali Khan.

"Some two months before his death, Ṣafdar 'Alî K͟hân came to see his mother at Madras. She said to him: 'If there is ill-feeling between you and Chandâ Ṣâḥib, his son 'Abid Ṣâḥib is not your enemy; please, then, see to the release of 'Abid Ṣâḥib, who is in the hands of the Mahrattas.' She made this request very sorrowfully. Ṣafdar 'Alî K͟hân replied: 'Yes, I will procure his freedom, provided that you pay me five lakhs of rupees.' She agreed to this, and gave him one lakh and 80,000 pagodas in cash, and some rupees, some jewels, and cloths worth Rs. 12,000; in all about five lakhs of rupees. Ṣafdar 'Alî placed these in the hands of Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, and told him he must pay double the value set upon them. He, further, took a receipt from him, in his own hand, with a specific note that this was in connection with

And states how they, with certain money, etc., came into his possession.

And subsequently into that of K. D. Bukkanji.

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'Abid Ṣâḥib's affair, and he gave it to 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife. After he reached Vellore—whether it occurred to him that if he should get 'Abid Ṣâḥib released for a consideration of five lakhs of rupees, he would appear a mean fellow in the eyes of his mother and other relations, or for some other reason, we know not—he wrote to his mother saying: 'I have directed Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji to hand over to you those five lakhs of rupees. He will bring the money, and the articles pledged; you can receive them, and return his receipt to him. I will arrange that 'Abid Ṣâḥib is set free, and will send him to you.' He wrote in these terms to his mother, but, within ten days of doing so, he was killed at Vellore by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, and since then his instructions to Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, have remained unfulfilled.

It explains why S. 'Ali Khan's intentions to make restoration of these were not carried out.

"'Alî Naqî was present when all these transactions took place: Mîr Asad also knew of them. 'Alî Naqî, Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, and he, had intended to divide the cloths and money between them. It is not known whether they have since changed their minds. But Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji recently asked, through 'Alî Naqî, for a copy of the list, as drawn up by 'Alî Dôst Khân's son, of the articles pledged, alleging that that which had been placed in a box had disappeared. One was accordingly furnished to him. Should you be instrumental in the recovery of the five lakhs, 'Alî Dôst Khân's widow will give you one-fourth of the amount."

Gives the names of those cognizant of the matter.

And promises a reward if diarist makes recovery.

I reported this to the Governor. He said: "It is not 20,000 or 3,0000 rupees, but a matter of five lakhs. What can we gain by taking action against the servant? At the most, there can hardly be more than 10,000 or 15,000 pagodas of his here. It will, therefore, be of little use to deal with him. If, on the other hand, the master himself be proceeded against, it would be a profitable affair. If you can tell me how this could be effected, I shall interfere in the matter." He bade me have an interview with Chandâ Ṣâhib's wife, and tell her as much on the subject as I considered desirable. I accordingly directed Râjô Pandit to go to her, and report to me what her opinion was.

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What the Governor said when diarist reported this matter.

Directs him to obtain the views of C. Sahib's wife.

The Governor asked me for the news from Fort St. David. I said to him: "Cuddalore is left unprotected, for each of the four gates is guarded by only ten Englishmen and ten East Indians. There are no Europeans, at all, in the town, but there are native troops to the number of 500. A petty Poligar named Malrâjâ, who came from the north, is there. In Fort St. David, there are from 300 to 400 English soldiers, and 200 East Indians. Besides these, there are, of course, the Company's officials. As regards guns, there are only 100, including those mounted on the walls of the fort, and those on the ground. Of supplies there are 120 garce of paddy, 25 to 30 garce of rice, and 100 candies of powder. At Cuddalore there are only 200 garce of paddy. There is some rice in a store-house.

Governor asks the news from Fort St. David.

Diarist reports the state of Cuddalore.

And gives details of garrison, etc., at Fort St. David.

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And of the force of native troops around it.

The native troops posted around Fort St. David, and as far as the custom house, number about 1,000. This is the information that I have received. I cannot say what will happen hereafter. I have had news that all the houses situated on the north-western side of Fort St. David, as far as the house of Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan, are being demolished, and levelled."

Governor says that he will go to Fort St. David, to capture it.

The Governor remarked: "This is true; what else could there be there? I am going to Fort St. David, to capture it." I said: "If you but go there, God will surely grant you the victory. He is prepared to crown your efforts with every success. You have only to despatch the troops, and the capture of the place is certain; there can be nothing to hinder it." On my flattering him in these terms, he attributed everything to me. On hearing this I said: "I cannot claim any share in your glory; I am but a servant ready to obey all your behests." I then took leave of him, and went home.

Flattering remarks made by diarist.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FROM DECEMBER 4TH, 1746, *TO DECEMBER* 13TH, 1746.

Letters from Subbaiyan and Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—The former reports his attempt to gain the help of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—The scoffing language with which it was received—The sarcastic remark of Sampâti Râo—And the reply that the Nawâb cannot be approached—He refers to the matter of the French prisoners—And says that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib wishes certain orders issued—What the Governor directs on hearing this letter—He repeats that he will capture Fort St. David—What is to be done when M. Paradis reaches Pondichery—Diarist hands certain letters to Râjô Paṇḍit—And writes two to M'.Alî Khân—Contents of the first of these—Râjô Paṇḍit sent to the wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib.—To ask her to instigate M'.Alî Khân to attack Arcot—And to say that M. Dupleix will assist him—Why the Governor did not write to M'.Alî Khân—Sudden illness of child of Mr. Morse—Prompt attentions of M. and Me. Dupleix—Diarist's reflections on this matter—He and Râjô Paṇḍit visit the Governor—To whom a letter, from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, to certain ladies, is read—Governor asks if Bade Ṣâḥib's people received a like letter—Is answered in the affirmative—He promises to see to the matter—And directs that Bade Ṣâḥib's house be watched—Conversation regarding Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—Diarist asks whether he should draft a reply to M'.Alî Khân—Discussion on this point—The form suggested by diarist adopted—He proposes a gift of money to M'.Alî Khâns' peons—Governor agrees, and reply is despatched—Troops march, to and fro, between certain places—This creates an idea that 1,000 men are in movement—Many, consequently, desert their homes—Result of this, and of the failure of monsoon—Alarm created by alleged advance of the French—Terror caused by rumours of a possible attack on Pondichery—Remarks of diarist regarding this—Governor attends mass, and holds a Council—Execution of a thief—Letters from V. Subbaiyan, and M. de Kerjean—The former mentions continued illness of the Nawâb—And difficulties regarding the release of French prisoners—Remarks of the Governor, on hearing the letter—His reply to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—Letter also, to V. Subbaiyan—This desires him to see Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—Chandâ Ṣâḥib's son asks Governor to pay certain money—The promise made by M. Dupleix—Further conversation between them—Governor advises seizure of Arcot and the Nawâb—Promises the aid of troops—And tells him that he can then subdue all Arcot—Chandâ Ṣâḥib's son suggests that Murtaẓâ 'Alî would carry out this plan—Report that Maḥfuz Khân's force surrounded M. Paradis—M' Alî Khân said to be advancing towards Fort St. David—Diarist desired to obtain information, and to see to sundry supplies—Governor asks why certain

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intimation has not been received—He decides to send soldiers to Mortândi Châvadi—News of Muhammad 'Alî Khân reaches diarist—He reports this to the Governor, and replies to his informants—By order of the Governor, diarist issues instructions touching certain supplies—Governor reads to him a letter from M. Paradis—This reports an attack by Mahfuz Khân—Which he had repulsed—And that he had reached Sadras—Governor comments on the rashness of M. Paradis—And says that he will send him a reinforcement—He orders a letter to be written to H. Sâhib—This refers to the misdeeds of Mahfuz Khân—States that they have been endured in the hope of an amicable settlement—And offers the alternative of compliance with certain demands, or war—Governor speaks to diarist concerning one Periya Aiyâ—Who is a marauder—And suggests instigating him to attack M'. Alî Khân—The version received by diarist, of the fight reported by M. Paradis—Alleged strength of attacking force and nature of the fighting—Treasure, etc., belonging to M. Paradis said to have been captured—And most of the other plunder reported to have been carried off—Value of what M. Paradis lost—Reflections of diarist regarding this—What M. Paradis was said to have most regretted—His escape attributed, by diarist, to Divine favour—Governor's letter to H. Sâhib prepared—Instructions also sent to V. Subbaiyan—Replies to circular received from certain Killedars—The first two approve, but suggest a conciliatory policy—Killedar of Mayi Mandalam strongly disapproves—Killedar of Arni writes politely, and advises peace with the Subah—Reinforcement, etc. sent to M. Paradis—News of M'Alî Khân—Boats arrive with some goods, etc., from Sadras—Why M. Paradis, and his men, did not arrive by them—Alleged action of the Dutch towards those who remained behind—Diarist hears of a letter from M. Paradis, and reply thereto—His curiosity as to their contents—Son of Imâm Sâhib writes regarding a visit to Pondichery—And refers to certain business matters—M. Paradis arrives at Pondichery—Diarist notes that he did not appear cheerful—Attributes this to the loss of his plunder—Makes a like remark touching the Governor—Subbaiyan writes that M. Schonomille has been sent to Arcot—And confined with M. deKerjean, etc.—He conveys requests on behalf of Husain Sâhib—And reports arrival of persons sent for the tribute due to the Nizâm—What the Governor exclaimed on hearing the letter—Arrival at Pondichery of M. Paradis' men—Letter from the Governor to Subbaiyan deals with the requests made by him—And directs speedy reply to a certain letter—M. Dupleix sends diarist a letter from one Arunâchalam Chetti—This complains of the seizure, by M. Paradis' men, of certain valuables—And refusal to give them up without orders, for which he asks—The reply sent to this—Diarist informs the Governor that M'.Alî Khân has reached Tiruviti—Details the report as to the destination, and number, of the troops—And states what M'.Alî Khân did, to avoid the French—And that he is in constant fear of being attacked—Remark on this of Governor—Replies of some Killedars, etc., to the Governor's circular

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—Those of Vellore and Sâtghar approve—But suggest conciliating the Nawâb—Mîr Asad asks the cause of the war with the English—Privately, he sends congratulations—He refers contemptuously to the Nawâb—And urges not coming to terms with him—Taqî Ṣâḥib avoids all reference to the subject of the circular—And writes of the Governor's kindly feeling towards the Navâits, etc.—Governor tells diarist why Mîr Asad sent him a message—Killedar of Vazhudâvûr writes of a quarrel with M'Alî Khân—Who charged him with collusion with the French—And is now advancing—Compliments which he pays the Governor—He refers to the repulse of the force that attacked M. Paradis—And was defeated by him—And prophesies further triumphs—Governor much pleased.

Sunday, 4th December 1746 or 22nd Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to the Governor's house. A letter from Vakîl Subbaiyan, and another from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, had arrived from Arcot. The former contained the following:

Letters from Subbaiyan, and Husain Sahib.

"You wrote to me that it was intended to attack Fort St. David, to capture it and the surrounding villages, to, at once, make over the latter to the Nawâb, and, after a time, the fort, also. You further stated that the object of this was to effect an alliance between the Governor and the Nawâb, and that I should obtain, through the influence of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, a letter conveying the sanction of the Nawâb to the proposed expedition. I accordingly spoke to him on the subject; on which, he laughed, and said: 'When we ask the Governor to restore the fort at Madras to the English, he writes to say that he is preparing to capture Fort St. David. This reminds one of the story of the woman who, when she prayed to God for a son, lost her husband. Did you ever hear the like of this?' Sampâti Rao then arrived. The proposal was mentioned to

The former reports his attempt to gain the help of Husain Sahib.

The scoffing language with which it was received.

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The sarcastic remark of Sampati Rao.

him. He, too, laughed at it, and said: 'When a man lost one eye, and felt that the other was rather painful, he sent for a doctor to have the lost eye restored, but the surgeon told him that if this was attempted he would ruin the eye which was in a good condition. The attempt of your Governor to capture Fort St. David is something like this.' These are the opinions of Sampâti Rao, and Husain Ṣâḥib, who have desired me to say that the Nawâb cannot be approached on this matter, without evoking his displeasure. They state that it would be absolutely impossible to obtain the requisite permission, and that consequently the idea of capturing Fort St. David must be entirely abandoned. Husain Ṣâḥib says that he will release M. de Kerjean and the others, and send them away in two or three days. On private inquiry, I understand that the Nawâb has ordered the release of these three Europeans; and that the delay is on the part of Husain Ṣâḥib who detains them saying he will think about the matter, and give them their liberty later on. I shall take steps regarding this, and will see to their release, in five or six days. Having heard that his dwelling house at Madras is being demolished, Husain Ṣâḥib desires that the Governor may be requested to issue an order forbidding this."

And the reply that the Nawab cannot be approached.

He refers to the matter of the French prisoners.

And says that H. Sahib wishes certain orders issued.

What the Governor directs on hearing this letter.

I read the letter which contained this to the Governor, on which he said to me: "It is likely that the same thing; that is, that I should not

interfere with Fort St. David, appears in the letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. Madanânda Paṇḍit should not know this; so secure these letters in your cupboard." I promised that I would. Then he again said: "At any rate, I am determined to capture Fort St. David. You must be on the alert, and assist by obtaining for me prompt information regarding it. Please see to this very carefully."

He repeats that he will capture Fort St. David.

To-night, M. d'Espréménil departed for Madras, as Governor, and so soon as he arrives there M. Paradis will return to Pondichery. It has been decided that when he reaches this, war against Fort St. David shall be declared. It was on this understanding, that M. d'Espréménil was sent to Madras.

What is to be done, when M. Paradis reaches Pondichery.

Monday, 5th December 1746, or 23rd Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, the weather was cloudy and drizzling. I handed to Râjô Paṇḍit, the writer at Chandâ Ṣâḥib's house, the letters of the Governor to Satâra Sâhu Râjâ, Sampâti Rao, Fatteh Sing, Raghôji Bhônsla, Sau Bhâji Rao, and Amânat Khân son of Shâh Aḥmad Khân, who is in the service of the Niẓâm. They were not gummed, but sealed. I addressed, to Satâra, a letter to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân concerning his younger brother, and another regarding himself. In the first of these I wrote: "I send these letters to you. I forward them through Râjô Paṇḍit. See them despatched soon. Try to recall your brother quickly." The Governor then said to me: "Please send Râjô Paṇḍit

Diarist hands certain letters to Rajo Pandit.

And writes two to M. 'Ali Khan.

Contents of the first of these.

Rajo Pandit sent to the wife of Chanda Sahib.

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To ask her to instigate M. 'Ali Khan to attack Arcot.

to the wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, in order that he may ask her to write to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, as follows: 'Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is ill, and his two sons, with their troops, are marching near Madras, on their way to Pondichery. This is the proper time for you to advance, with your army, against Arcot, and seize and imprison its old and infirm chief. The Governor of Pondichery will supply you with the requisite guns and powder, as well as Mahé sepoys, and some soldiers. If this plan is carried out with the help of Vellore Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and Taqî Ṣâḥib, success will be certain. You must give effect to it without delay."

And to say that M. Dupleix will assist him.

Why the Governor did not write to M. 'Ali Khan.

As, in a previous letter, Muḥammad' Alî Khân had stated to the Governor that if he would only help him, he would seize Arcot, M. Dupleix did not like to mention these matters in a reply from himself, but asked the wife of Chandâ Ṣâḥib to write the letter. I have noted down only the important portion of our conversation. Nothing else of consequence occurred to-day.

Sudden illness of child of Mr. Morse.

Mr. Morse, Governor of Madras, is here. At 10 this morning, his son, aged five or six years, had an attack of convulsions, and his eyes started out of their sockets. The grief experienced by Mr. Morse was indescribable. Having heard of this calamity, M. Duplex and his wife, ran at once to the patient, sent for the doctor, asked him to attend to him, and prescribe medicines suitable to the case. They did their best to soothe the feelings of Mr.

Prompt attentions of M. and Me. Dupleix.

Morse, and having stayed at the house for a watch,*, and ascertained that the child was a little better, they returned home.

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There is a common saying that it is the stumbling foot that stumbles again, and that calamities come not singly, but in succession. This is not untrue. One has seen it so often. But God, in His mercy, should save those who are in opulent circumstances from disasters. What, however, lies within the power of man, who has but to endure with patience? It is God alone that can divert the destined course of events.

Diarist's reflections on this matter.

Tuesday, 6th December 1746 or 24th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, I went to see the Governor. Râjô Paṇḍit, the accountant of the household of Chandâ Ṣâḥib also came, and read to him a letter written by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib to Bî Bî Ṣâḥiba, and the daughter of 'Alî Dôst K͟hân, which was to the following effect: "I may mention that a great fight is impending at Pondichery; a serious calamity will, in consequence, befall you who dwell there. It will be a hundred times worse than that which overtook the daughter of 'Alî Dôst K͟hân when she had to quit Madras. You will lose all your property, and experience much misery. The fort at Ranjanghar, the Chingleput pâḷaiyam, and other places, are in my possession, and to any of these you are welcome to go, and remain. If you do not, you

He and Râjo Paṇḍit visit the Governor.

To whom a letter, from Husain Sahib, to certain ladies, is read.

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* A *Jâmam* or watch = 7½ Indian hours ; three English hours.

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will be deprived of all that you possess, and suffer much. As I am your relative, I tell you of all these things." The letter described the predicted war in all its horrors. When all this had been read to the Governor, he said to Râjô Paṇḍit: "Has the household of Badê Ṣâḥib, also, been written to in like terms?" He replied in the affirmative, and then exclaimed: "Is there any one who, on reading such a letter, would not lose heart? We, however, do not. Our Bî Bî Ṣâḥiba has taken care to warn the guards at Badê Ṣâḥib's house lest, under the influence of fear, any property should be sent therefrom." The Governor replied: "We will see to this carefully. You had better also keep an eye on the property." He then took me aside and said: "Post spies about the house of Badê Ṣâḥib, and try to obtain timely information of what happens there. Ḥusain Ṣâḥib has a mind to get hold of these three families, if he possibly can, and swindle them of their money. It is with this view that he is predicting an outbreak." I replied: "At the very commencement of this affair I told you that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib was siding with the people of Madras, but you were then of opinion that he would never behave treacherously. Did I not tell you that the truth would come to light, by and by? Have not my words come to pass?" He answered: "Yes; but, as he couched his letters in the most complimentary terms, I was under a different impression. Now I understand him. There is a God above us."

Governor asks if Bade Sahib's people received a like letter.

Is answered in the affirmative.

He promises to see to the matter.

And directs that Bade Sahib's house be watched.

Conversation regarding Husain Sahib.

I asked the Governor whether I should draft a reply to the letter of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and brother of Mahfuz Khân. He then asked me as to how it should be worded. I said: "We should be somewhat guarded in our answer. He wrote that if you communicated to him any wish of yours, he would give effect to it. Now you have nothing more to do than address him in complimentary words, and say that your sole desire is to retain his friendship, and that he ought to see that this grew stronger, and that his people did not suffer, but were happy." I was then told to draft a letter in these terms. I remarked: "Sir, if we make a present, of 5 rupees each, to the two peons who came from Muhammad 'Alî Khân, they will be much pleased, and when they return home they will tell their master, in highly laudatory terms, how soldiers are entertained here, that we have in readiness arms and ammunition, and that this place is well fortified." He concurred, and asked me to despatch a letter to the effect already suggested. I accordingly wrote an answer to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, delivered it to the peons, presented to each of them 5 rupees, and let them go.

CHAP. XXXVI. — 1746. Diarist asks whether he should draft a reply to M. 'Ali Khan. Discussion on this point.

The form suggested by diarist adopted.

He proposes a gift of money to M. 'Ali Khan's peons.

Governor agrees, and reply is despatched.

Under instructions of the Governor, soldiers and Mahé sepoys have been marching for the last fifteen days, to and fro between Pondichery, and Ariyânkuppam, Azhisapâkkam, and places even between two and three miles beyond these,

Troops march, to and fro between certain places.

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Similarly, 100 men manœvred to the westward, as far as Kûḍapâkkam, Vazhudâvûr, and Tiruvakkarai; and another 100 northward, as far as Kâlâpêṭṭai. This has given rise to an idea that 1,000 soldiers are in movement. The amaldârs and nâṭṭârs residing in those parts have moved away from there to a distance of one to two leagues. Some have gone into the jungle, and to the forts of the poligars; and, for a radius of about three leagues round about Pondichery, some Muhammadans, nâṭṭârs, and other respectable people, have abandoned their homes. This circumstance is enough to cause neglect of cultivation. Add to this, the failure of the monsoon. Throughout the country, there is absolutely no sign of any agricultural operations. The residents of Porto Novo, including the merchants, have left the neighbourhood, and have gone to settle at Chidambaram. Even the Europeans who reside at Gingee and Arcot are, it is said, affected by the rumour of the approach of the French; and the terror of the Muhammadans is past description. In spite of all this, the Chettis, Kômuṭṭis, and a few other inhabitants of our city, are frightened out of their wits by rumours that the Muhammadans are besieging the town to the westward, and that the English are coming by sea to attack them; and some of them, actuated by fear, have even cleared off their property, whilst others have sent their families away. These people are needlessly alarmed. They neither regard the signs of the times, nor bear

This creates an idea that 1,000 men are in movement.

Many, consequently, desert their homes.

Result of this, and of the failure of the monsoon.

Alarm created by alleged advance of the French.

Terror caused by rumours of a possible attack on Pondichery

Remarks of diarist regarding this.

in mind that the French captured Madras, which was a city belonging to a European race, without loss of life, or any trouble whatever. Have they not seen that even the ruler of a Subah, who attacked them, was vanquished, and fled. Being, however, unable to realise all this, the common folk have left their homes, and will, by and by, discover their mistake.

Wednesday, 7th December 1746, or 25th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor went to church, and heard mass, a Council being held when he returned home. Two months ago, a couple of thieves entered the Mission church opposite to my residence, and committed a theft. One of them was caught, but the other escaped. Now the thief who was captured and kept in custody, was sentenced by the Council to be hanged on the scaffold near the court-house. At half-past 5 in the evening he was accordingly executed. He was taken down after 6, and buried in the graveyard.

Governor attends mass, and holds a Council.

Execution of a thief.

Thursday, 8th December 1746, or 26th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—To-day, a letter written, from Arcot, by Vakîl Subbaiyan, and one from M. de Kerjean, were received. The latter was delivered to the Governor, and the contents of the letter of Vakîl Subbaiyan were as follows: "Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is suffering from diarrhœa; he retires fifty times a day, and has changed his doctor. This news was received through the Nawâb's vakîl, Krishṇâji Nâyakkan. Written instructions not to move to any distance, were received by Maḥfuz Khân and

Letters from V. Subbaiyan, and M. de Kerjean.

The former mentions continued illness of the Nawâb.

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Muḥammad' Alî Khân, but the former would not listen to the order given, and, leaving Srîperumbûdûr, marched ten miles to the eastward. It is not the intention of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib to release the European prisoners, until the invalid's case takes a turn, one way or the other. It is rumoured that Jemadar Muḥammad Sharîf Khân has removed M. de Bury's son to a more distant place of confinement." When this news was read to the Governor, he observed that all these difficulties were caused by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and he therefore instructed his clerk, Nâgôji Paṇḍit, to write to him the following letter: "Three of our people were unjustly arrested, and kept in custody; you pleaded, on their behalf, with Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, had them released, lodged them in the upper story of your house, supplied them with cots and bedding, and served them with meals and fruit three times a day; you frequently conversed with them, and you distinctly promised to send them to me, but never did so. I am much obliged for your kindness, but I am surprised at your not restoring my men. What does the Nawâb gain by keeping them where they are? Although I have often asked him to send them to me, he ignores my demands, and detains them. I regard these three as having fallen in the battle at Madras." I told Nâgôji Paṇḍit to prepare a letter to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, as dictated by the Governor. He accordingly wrote one, which was shown to me, and despatched. Another letter was

And difficulties regarding release of the French prisoners.

Remarks of the Governor, on hearing the letter.

His reply to Husain Sahib.

Letter, also, to V. Subbaiyan.

also sent to Vakîl Subbaiyan, the contents of which were to the same effect, except that a few additional matters were included. One of these was that he was desired to have an interview with Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, on the subject. The Governor gave me eight books, to be sent to the Europeans referred to. This was also mentioned in the letter, and I delivered them and it, to the peons who had come from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib.

CHAP. XXXVI. — 1746. This desires him to see H. Sahib.

At 11 in the forenoon, the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib came to see the Governor, and asked him to pay the lakh of rupees which he had promised. The Governor replied: "If I receive positive news of the arrival of your father, I will, without fail, pay the money." The other said: "If, by the favour of God, a letter is received stating that he is certainly coming, will you assuredly pay me the amount?" M. Dupleix answered: "Yes, I will surely pay it." The son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib then addressed some complimentary words to him, saying: "If the letters which you sent to Sâhu Râjâ and others at Satâra reach them, they will be very pleased, and you will thereby gain a good name." The Governor replied: "You know that I am doing my best to induce your father to come here. All your people should unite, and act together, as Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is at the point of death. His sons have gone with their followers, in the direction of Madras and Pondichery. You should now collect your troops, advance against Arcot, seize

Chanda Sahib's son asks Governor to pay certain money.

The promise made by M. Dupleix.

Further conversation between them.

Governor advises seizure of Arcot and the Nawab.

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Promises the aid of troops.

And tells him that he can then subdue all Arcot.

C. Sahib's son suggests that Murtaza 'Ali would carry out this plan.

Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and place him in confinement. A leader should be appointed, and stationed at Arcot, and separate bodies of troops should be sent against the two sons. I will aid you with two contingents, which, by advancing from the eastward, will disperse their men; and the two sons of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân will either be captured, or killed. You can then include the whole province of Arcot under your rule, and if you write to the Nizâm promising that you will pay him tribute, he will readily accept the offer, and, as the proverb says: 'the nut that cannot be chewed is the best gift'; he will ask you to send him the tribute money, and you can accordingly do so." Chandâ Ṣâḥib's son made answer: "By your favour, Sir, what you suggest can be done. There is Murtazâ' Alî Khân, who will carry it out judiciously." The Governor said to him: "What are the intentions of Murtazâ 'Alî? Does he intend to govern in person, or does he propose to send for Chandâ Ṣâḥib?" The son replied: "He means to govern in person, and never to appoint any one else." Thereupon 'Alî Naqî* . . . .

Report that Mahfuz Khan's force surrounded M. Paradis.

Saturday, 10th December 1746, or 28th Kârttigai of Akshaya.—This morning's post brought the following news: "After M. Paradis had left Madras, and was marching on this side of Tiruppôrûr, the troops of Maḥfuz Khân, which comprised 500 horse and 1,500 foot, surrounded him."

* Blank in the original.

I, reported this at once, to the Governor. Again, my correspondent wrote to me to say that, at the request of the inhabitants of Fort St. David, Muhammad 'Alî Khân had quitted Gingee, and, with his troops, was advancing, yesterday, towards the fort. I reported this, also, to the Governor, who instructed me to obtain information as to the object of the expedition, and the places at which Muhammad 'Alî Khân was likely to halt. For this purpose, I accordingly despatched two Government peons, and four of those of the Nayinâr—in all six men. The Governor then told me that the supplies for the camels had run short, and asked me to see to the matter. I therefore sent for the camel-keepers, and questioned them. They said they had no food for certain of their animals. On this, I directed Râmaiyan the son of Gôpâlaiyan, to ask Parasurâma Pillai to procure what was needed. After this, the Governor asked me how it was that no intimation of the arrival of Muhammad 'Alî had been received from the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr. I replied: "If there is any such news, it will certainly be known." He then said: "I will send some soldiers, to occupy Mortândi Châvadi, from which they can scout around the fort at Vazhudâvûr. See that such sheep, pigs, and fowls, as may be required for them are procured. These will be paid for."

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M'Ali Khan said to be advancing towards Fort St. David.

Diarist desired to obtain information, and to see to sundry supplies.

Governor asks why certain intimation has not been received.

He decides to send soldiers to Mortandi Chavadi.

Meanwhile, Venkatâchala Aiyan, of Tondamânattam, came, and told me, at the instance of the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr, and Pachaiyappa Mudali

News of Muhammad 'Ali Khan reaches diarist.

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and Râmabhadra Chetti, that the forces of Muhammad 'Alî were marching in that direction, and that if soldiers were sent, as before, to surround the fort at Vazhudâvûr, his men would be alarmed. He asked me to report all this to the Governor. I did so, and having sent for Venkatâchala Aiyan, of Tondamânattam, told him what the Governor had said to me, and asked him to convey the whole of this to the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr and Pachaiyappa Mudali. Then, the Governor, after walking through the ranks of soldiers drawn up on the eastern side of the fort, went on to the ramparts, and said: "To-morrow, the detachment will start for Mortândi Châvadi; please ask Parasurâman to send all the provisions and supplies necessary for it." He then departed, and as soon as I reached my areca-nut godown, I summoned Chinna Parasurâman, and directed him to despatch the food and other articles needful for the troops that were going to Ariyânkuppam and Mortândi Châvadi. At 8, after he had returned home, the Governor sent for me, and said that he had received a letter from M. Paradis, which he read to me. The contents of it were: "On the night of Thursday, the 26th [8th], I left Madras with fifty soldiers and thirty sepoys, and reached Tiruppôrûr on the following morning, *i.e.*, Friday. I started thence, and had marched for an Indian hour, when the troops of His Highness the Nawâb Mahfuz Khân, consisting of 500 horse and 1,000 infantry, surrounded me. I then distributed the

He reports this to the Governor, and replies to his informants.

By order of the Governor, diarist issues instructions touching certain supplies.

Governor reads to him a letter from M. Paradis.

This reports an attack by Mahfuz Khan.

thirty sepoys around the camp, and taking with me my fifty soldiers, I got out of my palanquin, mounted my horse, and when the Muḥammadans fled, pursued them for some distance. I then returned, to rejoin the men who were in the rear. The enemy again appeared, and were dealt with as before. In this way, moving backwards and forwards, I reached Sadras during the night." The Governor said: "As M. Paradis is a bold man, and as he is favoured by God, he escaped from his difficulties; had it been otherwise, it is not likely that he would have overcome so large a force as that which attacked him. It was a rash act on his part to be as adventurous as he was, knowing full well, as he did, his own weakness and the numerical superiority of enemies, fired, as they were, with a spirit of hatred and revenge." He then said he would send, on the following day, troops to the assistance of M. Paradis.

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Which he had repulsed.

And that he had reached Sadras.

Governor comments on the rashness of M. Paradis.

And says that he will send him a reinforcement.

The Governor desired that a letter, addressed to Arcot, should be written to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, in the following words: "Maḥfuz Khân, the son of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, has wrongfully made captive the envoys whom we sent to him for the purpose of making ourselves acquainted with his affairs. Though, with your approval, we took Madras, after a fight with the English, he has unjustly waged war against us. He has been maltreating our subjects, when on their way between Madras and Pondichery. We have long endured all this misdoing, and there is still no sign of its abating. On

He orders a letter to be written to H. Sahib.

This refers to the misdeeds of Mahfuz Khan.

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States that they have been endured in the hope of an amicable settlement.

the other hand, the help received at our hands by you and your family; and indeed by all your people, is beyond measure. Seeing that you express yourself with impartiality in this affair, we have long borne with the affronts of Maḥfuz Khân, in the hope that an amicable settlement might be arrived at. But they seem to grow worse and worse. War and strife are on the increase, and have not diminished. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and his party, who are now at the head of the Subah, are new-comers, and are consequently but slightly acquainted with the manners of Europeans, with whom, however, you have long had intercourse; and you have reigned in this part of the country so long that you must be quite conversant with the manners and customs of our race, and of those of other European nations. We presumed that your knowledge of them would very much reduce the probabilities of war. But what is actually taking place, and the manner in which you behave, are both opposed to our anticipations. Unless, therefore, you release the three captive Europeans, and withdraw the mounted men infesting this neighbourhood, we will devastate your country, as far as Arcot. We can no longer forbear."

An offers the alternative of compliance with certain demands, or war.

The Governor strictly enjoined that the letter should be couched in strong terms. I said: "So let it be."

Governor speaks to diarist concerning one Periya Aiya.

He then called me aside, and said as follows: "You told me that Periya Aiyâ the son of Vêṭṭavalam Paṇḍâri, who was captured and converted by

the Muhammadans, had escaped from the fort in which they had detained him . . . . . .* You said, also, that he had since gone southwards, where he collected a band of men, and having returned, seized his father and brother, and placed them in confinement; and that he was pillaging the whole district of Ginjee. You had better send for his people, and instigate them to attack the army of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, harass it, capture his horses, and destroy his followers. You must take proper steps to bring this about." I promised to do so, and took leave of him.

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Who is a marauder.

And suggests instigating him to attack M. Ali Khan.

I have already stated what the Governor said concerning M. Paradis. I will now relate what I have heard from independent sources. A hundred soldiers, forty or fifty Coffres, and thirty Mahé sepoys, were marching, in advance, with Jemadar Shaikh Hasan. The soldiers and the sepoys, as also some of the Coffres, had each powder and ball sufficient for six charges. They had, also, some reserve ammunition. Protected in this way, the gains of many men, in the shape of goods, money, and cloths, acquired in Madras, were being brought to Pondichery. After it had passed through Tiruppôrûr, the convoy was surrounded on all sides by Anwar Khân, and his force, which consisted of 1,000 horse, and 2,000 foot. After an engagement in which thirty or forty of the Muhammadan horsemen,

The version received by diarist, of the fight reported by M. Paradis.

Alleged strength of attacking force and nature of the fighting.

* Torn in the original.

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Treasure, etc., belonging to M. Paradis said to have been captured:

a Mahé sepoy and a Coffre were wounded, the party, accompanied by M. Paradis, reached Sadras, having been much harassed by the way. It is said that boxes containing some treasure, valuable precious stones, and cloths of different kinds, the property of M. Paradis, which were being carried in rear of the force, by coolies, escorted by six or seven soldiers and six or seven Mahé sepoys, were carried off by some Moghul horsemen. It is further said that of the property of the sepoys and some others from Pondichery, which consisted of what they had actually pillaged, or had purchased from the plunderers and which was at a short distance behind the troops, all, with the exception of a small portion carried by the men who accompanied M. Paradis, was borne off by the Muhammadan cavalry, who beat and drove away the bearers. Some say that the loss sustained by M. Paradis would amount to 10,000 pagodas, and a few others aver that it would be more. The saying is: "Ill-gotten gains will disappear in some foolish way or other." The property went in the same way as that in which it was obtained. It is of no moment what the value of it was—10,000 or 20,000, or may be, only 100 pagodas. Imagine what toil and trouble the articles must have cost the owners, and what grief and anxiety must have been caused by the loss of them. Would not the flame which was created in their hearts accompany the property to whatever house it might go, and reduce to ashes even

And most of other plunder reported to have been carried off.

Value of what M. Paradis lost.

Reflections of diarist regarding this.

what had previously been acquired? Take the instance of the ship from Pondichery, which was seized on her way back from Manilla. How many lamented then? Is not that the flame that set Madras ablaze, and reduced it to its present condition? Now that a fire, a hundred thousand times more powerful, is seizing hold of Pondichery, I leave it to the wise to form an idea of what may happen to it.

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It was in this state that M. Paradis reached Sadras, and encamped at Veḷḷi Îswaran Kôvil. Those who came with him told me that he did not regret so much the boxes and goods that he lost, as he did four sheets of glass half as high again as a man, of which he was also deprived. M. Paradis would not have escaped from the predicament in which he found himself on this occasion, had it not been that God is favouring the French with success.

What M. Paradis was said to have most regretted.

His escape attributed, by diarist, to Divine favour.

At 9 this morning, a letter was addressed to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib on the lines dictated by the Governor, to whom it was read. Another was also written, for despatch to Vakîl Subbaiyan, in which the contents of the communication to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib were embodied. Subbaiyan was requested to explain matters to him clearly, and to procure, and promptly forward, a reply from him. He was also desired to look to the comfort of the French who were in captivity at Arcot. I entrusted the letters to certain servants, and sent them off.

Governor's letter to H. Sahib prepared.

Instructions also sent to V. Subbaiyan.

In reply to the letters addressed to Killedars, communications have been received, to-day, from

Replies to circular received from certain Kiledars.

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those of Kâvêripâkkam, Kalavai, the hill-fort of Mayi Maṇḍalam, and Arni. The first two of them wrote to the following effect:

The first two approve, but suggest a conciliatory policy.

"Your letter has made us acquainted with all the measures taken by you, and with the conduct of Maḥfuz Khân. The action which should have been taken, has been. It will be well if, at any rate for the future, your proceedings are governed by a policy which will not prejudice your friendship with the ruler of the Subah. In the event of your adopting this course, even the Niẓâm, when he becomes aware of what you have done, will view it with great approbation."

Killedar of Mayi Mandalam strongly disapproves.

The following is the purport of the reply from the son of Qâdir Ḥusain Khân, of the hill-fort of Mayi Maṇḍalam: "You have broken your promise, inasmuch as after effecting a sale to the English, you failed to honour it. Merchants that you are, how could you be justified in attacking the Subah."

Killedar of Arni writes politely, and advises peace with the Subah.

The reply from the fort of Arni was couched in the following complimentary terms: "We have already heard of your bravery, and what has transpired confirms the report. Courageous as you are, there is justice on your side; hence you have been victorious. Being in the full enjoyment of God's favour, you may be sure of more victories, but we would advise you to be at peace with the Subah, so that the country may be saved from ruin. You are wise men, and there is hardly anything that you

do not know. Is it not, therefore, presumptuous on my part to point out what is advisable?"

After explaining the contents of the foregoing letters, I returned home.

Reinforcement, etc., sent to M. Paradis.

At 3 this afternoon, a reinforcement of 200 soldiers and 150 sepoys, with powder, ball, and provisions, was sent to M. Paradis, at Sadras. It is said that Captain de la Tour, who went in charge of it, would halt to-night at my choultry.

News of M. 'Ali Khan.

The news, to-day, is that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân is encamped, with his army, at Kakkaḷûrpêṭṭai.

Boats arrive with some goods, etc., from Sadras.

At about 6 this evening, five boats arrived from Sadras, having on board Shaikh Hasan, who is Jemadar of the Mahé sepoys, some goods which formed a portion of the plunder of Madras, some more belonging to M. Paradis, his dubashes and peons, and a kettle-drum which was taken at the battle with Maḥfuz Khân. The rumour is that the property now landed was what remained after Maḥfuz Khân's men had pillaged the goods and baggage of the French force, when they surrounded it on its way from Madras. The reason why M. Paradis and the soldiers did not arrive by these boats seems to be that, when they got into them, and were about to start, the boatmen decamped, on the approach of some horsemen. Thereupon, M. Paradis, the soldiers, the Mahé sepoys, and the Coffres, considered it inexpedient to travel by them, and disembarked. But the articles already shipped, including muskets, were left in charge of native peons, who were allowed to proceed

Why M. Paradis and his men, did not arrive by them.

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Alleged action of the Dutch towards those who remained behind.

with them. Those who stayed behind encamped at a church hard by. It is said that the Dutch closed their factory against them, on the score that it is built on land belonging to the Nawâb, and, therefore, that they could not be accommodated in it.

Monday, 12th December 1746, or 1st Mârgazhi of Akshaya, constellation Kêṭṭai, New Moon.—The news which I heard this morning is that a letter was received last night, at 1, from M. Paradis, to which a reply was at once written, and despatched at about half-past 1. What has he to write about? I suppose that he said that he intended returning. The Governor must have replied that he could do so, and that a reinforcement was being sent to him. What is there to communicate specially to him?

Diarist hears of a letter from M. Paradis, and reply thereto.

His curiosity as to their contents.

At 9, a letter arrived from the son of Imâm Ṣâḥib, the contents of which were as follows: "If your invitation had been delivered to me before I reached Arcot, I would have complied with it. As I have arrived there, I will meet your wishes in due course. I note your decision not to put a stop to the demolition of the houses at Madras. Please write to the commanding officer at Madras to give me a permit to remove my piece-goods. I have sent, through 'Abd-ul Karîm, a receipt for Rs. 10,000, which please have transferred to the agent of Gôvardhana Dâs, and obtain an acknowledgment that it has reached him. Kindly pay to Guṇḍu Bâlu Cheṭṭi such amount as may be due after the accounts of the mint have been closed."

The son of Imam Sahib writes regarding a visit to Pondichery.

And refers to certain business matters.

When I mentioned all this to the Governor, he asked me whether the receipt had arrived. I answered in the affirmative, and said that, before replying regarding it, the agent of Gôvardhana Dâs should be communicated with. He desired me to do this.

M. Paradis arrives at Pondichery.

At half-past 5 this evening, M. Paradis arrived at Pondichery, having left the soldiers, Mahé sepoys, and Coffres, who had accompanied him from Madras, at my choultry. It is said that the troops despatched from here, to his assistance, met him at Âchikkâḍu Châvaḍi, and that, under his instructions, they accompanied him as far as my choultry, where they will halt for the night, and come on here to-morrow morning. He did not, however, appear cheerful; although one would have expected it to be otherwise, inasmuch as, with a handful of men, he had routed a large Muhammadan army. This I attribute to the fact that the spoils from Madras have been carried away by the Muhammadans. The face of the Governor, also, looked gloomy. He apparently expected a share in the booty, and the loss of it must have been communicated to him by M. Paradis.

Diarist notes that he did not appear cheerful.

Attributes this to the loss of his plunder.

Makes a like remark touching the Governor.

A letter has been received from Arcot from Vakîl Subbaiyan, which contains the following news: " M. Schonomille,* who was captured by Mahfuz Khân at St. Thomas' Mount, has been sent over to Arcot,

Subbaiyan writes that M. Schonomille has been sent to Arcot.

* It has been ascertained that this individual was employed by M. de la Bourdonnais, as an English interpreter.

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where, under instructions from the Nawâb, he is to be detained, in custody of the local Kotwâl At the intercession of Subbaiyan, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib has transferred him to his own house, where M. de Kerjean and two others are already in confinement, and keeps him in honourable captivity, providing him with a cot and quilt. Having heard that his house in the fort at Madras is about to be demolished, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib desires that the Governor there should be addressed, in view to its preservation. He further asks that what was plundered from Mylapore Dastgîr Ṣâḥib, after the battle there, should be restored to him. The expenses incurred for arranging the confinement of M. Schonomille in Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's house, instead of in the Kotwâl's prison, amounted to Rs. 25, and a liberal present has been promised in the event of his release. Five of the chief Subahdars, and a messenger bearing a letter, have arrived from Niẓâm-ul-mulk, to receive the tribute due from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. The Nawâb, who has had an attack of diarrhœa, is now improving, and he is to be confirmed in his present position."

And confined with M. de Kerjean, etc.

He conveys requests, on the part of Husain ahib

And reports arrival of persons sent or the tribute due to the Nizam.

I read the foregoing letter to the Governor, at 8 at night. He exclaimed: "We must fight on, use our muskets, and sack the country as far as Arcot. This can no longer be tolerated. The more I forbear, the more do the Muhammadans foment discord." Then bidding me go, he went to supper.

What the Governor exclaimed on hearing the etter.

Tuesday, 13th December 1746, or 2nd Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—The detachment of soldiers and Mahé sepoys, which went to the assistance of M. Paradis, returned this morning, having marched as far as Âchikkâḍu. Within half an Indian hour of their arrival at about half-past 7, the force which accompanied M. Paradis returned, with Jemadar Shaikh Hasan, who rode in a palanquin bearing the flag and kettle-drum captured from Maḥfuz Khân, at the battle of Mylapore.

Arrival at Pondichery of M. Paradis' men.

At 9, the Governor summoned me, and desired that a letter should be addressed to Vakîl Subbaiyan, in the following terms:

Letter to Subbaiyan from the Governor deals with the requests made by him.

" As regards the request of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib that the authorities in Madras be told not to destroy his house there, he is to be informed that we never intended to demolish any of the buildings, and that it was the Muhammadans who compelled us to adopt that course, for if they had refrained from having recourse to arms, there would have been no need on our part to cause the destruction of their houses. Why, indeed, should we demolish the structures which ornament our own city? It is the Muhammadans who oblige us to do so. If, even now, they will bring the war to a close, and set free our people, whom they have wrongfully imprisoned, we will stop the further destruction of the buildings in question.

" As to the request that the goods lost by Dastgîr Ṣâḥib be restored, it is well known to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib that the Paḷḷis, Pariahs, and other tribes of the

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And directs speedy reply to a certain letter.

place, and of the adjoining villages, plundered them, and threw the blame on us.

"You are further to obtain and forward, as soon as possible, a reply to the communication despatched the day before yesterday."

I accordingly sent a letter to Vakîl Subbaiyan, written on the lines indicated.

Sixteen of the camels forming part of the spoil in the recent battle, accompanied the force that followed M. Paradis.

M. Dupleix sends diarist a letter from one Arunâchala Chetti.

At 2 this afternoon, M. Dupleix received the following letter from one Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, a merchant of Madras, which he sent to me by his peon, with instructions to read it, and inform him as to its contents, which were :

This complains of the seizure, by M. Paradis' men, of certain valuables.

"From Madras Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, to M. Dupleix, Governor-General. For a long while, you have treated me very kindly. As regards my mercantile dealings, I need hardly say more than that my food was there [Pondichery], and water here. During the time that disturbances were going on, I placed my gold and silver articles in a copper pot, which was buried in my store-house. As the building was being demolished, I caused the pot to be dug up, and when it was being removed to my house, the subordinates of M. Paradis seized and carried it away to the fort, saying that the permission of the Governor of Pondichery was required for the delivery of it. Kindly write to M. Paradis, instructing him to hand over my property to me."

And of refusal to give them up without orders, for which he asks.

I reported this to the Governor, and he desired me to prepare the following reply: "I have received your letter, and have noted its contents. If you come in person, and have an interview with me, I will do my best to meet your wishes." I wrote a Tamil letter in these terms, and gave it to the Governor.

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The reply sent to this.

Last night, at 8, I received information that the army of Muḥammad 'Alî Kh̲ân, the son of the Nawâb, had reached Tiruviti. I communicated this to the Governor. He asked if the troops mentioned by me were on their way to Fort St. David, and I replied that the common report was that they would march there to-morrow. When he questioned me as to the strength of the force, I said that I had heard that there were 1,500 horse, 2,000 infantry, 100 camels, 15 or 20 elephants, and 19 large and small guns, each on a bullock. I told him, also, that although the direct route from Gingee to Fort St. David lay through Tiruppâpuliyûr, Vizhuppuram, and Bâhûr, Muḥammad 'Alî Kh̲ân had made a detour of three leagues to the westward, skirting Tiruviti and Panruṭi. He exclaimed "Why?". I replied: "As our soldiers are moving about the country as far as Vizhuppuram, his men are afraid of a sudden attack. He, himself, hardly sleeps during the night time, even for half an Indian hour, and he constantly moves from one tent to another. Day and night, he is haunted by the apprehension of being attacked by the French."

Diarist informs the Governor that M. 'Ali Khan has reached Tiruviti.

Details the report as to the destination and number of the troops.

And states what M. 'Ali Khan did, to avoid the French.

And that he is in constant fear of being attacked.

I added that this was the decided opinion of the people; on which the Governor, accepting this as

Remark on this of the Governor.

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true, remarked that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân was a timid man.

Replies of some Killedars, etc., to the Governor's circular.

Some forty days ago, letters were written to the Killedars, Jaghirdars, and other notables, wherein complaint was made that Maḥfuz Khân had unjustly arrested the envoys sent to him by the French, and had imprisoned them; that he was preparing to wage war against the French; and that he was guilty of other wrong doing. Replies from some of them; namely, Taqî Ṣâḥib of Wandiwash, Killedar Mîr Asad-ullâh Khân of Chêtpaṭṭu, Murtaẓâ Alî Khân of Vellore, and Killedar Hirâsat Khân of Sâtghar, were received this evening.

Those of Vellore and Satghar approve.

Those of Vellore and Sâtghar respectively wrote as follows: "I have received your letter, the perusal of which has given me great pleasure. Maḥfuz Khân, also, has written to me, in detail, how the Nawâb dealt with you, and how you behaved. This was to my satisfaction. It would, however, be better for you if, having regard to the friendship of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, you act in conformity to his wishes."

But suggest conciliating the Nawab.

Mir Asad asks the cause of the war with the English.

The answer of Mîr Asad ran thus: "I have read your letter, and it has caused me much gratification. Please let me know the origin and cause of the war between you and the English. As we have been on good terms with each other until now, I wish you to continue your friendship with me, to the end." He wrote in general and respectful terms of this nature; but through a peon, Maṇian, and another man—name unknown—, who brought the

Privately, he sends congratulations.

letter, he sent word to the Governor privately: "You have done exceedingly well; you have acquired undying fame for yourself and your posterity. What Anwar-ud-dîn Khân does is but an empty threat; you need not concern yourself about him. Nizâm-ul-mulk will also be pleased with you, as he bears ill-will towards this Subahdar. You will, no doubt, be quite successful. I have also written regarding the matter to the Nizâm, from whom I expect a reply which will be agreeable to you. You should, on no account, come to any terms with him. If the money given as presents to these people was expended in collecting troops, and driving them away, it would prove a far more glorious concern.

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He refers contemptuously to the Nawab.

And urges not coming to terms with him.

To the letter of the Governor representing that Mahfuz Khân was behaving unjustly towards him, Taqî Sâhib sent an answer in which he evaded any reference to the complaint, but observed as follows: "I have received your letter, with much pleasure. I learn that, in continuance of the friendship which existed between you and Nawâb S'aadat-ullâh Khân and other Navâits in former days, you still deal very kindly with the Navâit class; I have been told that you have a special regard and respect for the households of Chandâ Sâhib, Badê Sâhib, and 'Alî Dôst Khân, and have been informed from time to time, to my exceeding satisfaction, of the help which you invariably render them. For this God will favour you with every success; and greatness."

Taqi Sahib avoids all reference to the subject of the circular.

And writes of the Governor's kindly feeling towards the Navaits, etc.

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Governor tells diarist why Mir Asad sent him a message.

By the time that I had read all the details to the Governor, it was 10 at night. He was pleased; and spoke well of the Navâits. He told me that it was through fear of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, that Mîr Asad had written one thing in his formal answer, and caused a different communication to be made to him orally.

Killedar of Vazhudavur writes of a quarrel with M. 'Ali Khan.

The reply of Mîr Ḥusain Khân, Killedar of Vazhudâvûr, ran thus: "When Muḥammad 'Alî Khân was marching by way of Chêtpaṭṭu he told me that he was about to attack the fort of Pondichery, and wished me to place the fort which I command, at his disposal, as a halting place. I replied that as it was the property of the Emperor, he should obtain the previous permission of Niẓâm-ul-mulk. Muḥammad 'Alî was offended at this, and said: 'I know you are acting in collusion with the Governor of Pondichery, and mean to defy me. Very well; I will capture Vazhudâvûr, and confiscate all your jâghir villages.' He is now advancing, full of anger; but this is a matter of little consequence to you. God has favoured you with the courage and strength necessary to overcome these Muhammadans. You will acquire the reputation that throughout Hindustan there is no one who can conquer the French, and no nation so bold as they; either in these parts, or in Europe. Your deeds will raise your descendants to great distinction. Close friendship having long existed between you and our Nawâb, Mîr Asad-Ullâh Khân, our fort is yours, and we

Who charged him with collusion with the French.

And is now advancing.

Compliments which he pays the Governor.

regard all your concerns as our own. When M. Paradis came, with only 150 men, Anwar Khân, the son of Maḥfuz Khân's elder brother, surrounded him with a force of 1,500 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. We were then very apprehensive as to his safety. Being Saiyeds, we offered up prayers that God might bless him with success and our petition was heard. With but a small force M. Paradis attacked and drove away the vast army of the Moghuls, killing some, and gaining a victory. This is a matter for congratulation. God seems to favour your enterprise, and He will bless you with many similar triumphs." When I read this to the Governor, he spoke, for an Indian hour, in high terms of Mîr Asad, and desired me to write an answer to him, on the following day. As it was then 11, I took leave, and went home.

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He refers to the repulse of the force that attacked M. Paradis.

And was defeated by him.

And prophesies further triumphs.

Governor much pleased.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FROM DECEMBER 14*TH*, 1746, *TO DECEMBER* 25*TH*, 1746.

Diarist reports to the Governor that M. 'Alî Khân is at Nellikuppam—And is said to be going to Manjakuppam—Diarist directed to procure certain information—Replies that it has been obtained—Governor much pleased—Military officers object to M. Paradis as a leader—Governor has much trouble in pacifying them—He gives certain orders to diarist—News of M. 'Alî Khân's movements—And of his reception by the English—The spot assigned for his camp—He is displeased with this, and goes elsewhere—Induced to return, and another site is indicated to him—Asks that his front may be protected—Finally camps at Kondûr Tope—He and his men greatly fear a night attack—Governor causes this news to be repeated to M. Paradis—Remarks of the Governor as to M. 'Alî Khân—The observations thereupon made by diarist—Who gives M. Dupleix the news regarding Mahfuz Khân—And says that the Nawâb is better—Conversation as to the tenacity of life of the Nawâb—Dashing escape of English prisoners—Eight recaptured at once, owing to injuries—Four more re-taken in the afternoon—And, later, ten who were hiding in low jungle—Force sent to attack the enemy's horse, near Azhisapâkkam—The latter take to flight—The French make a halt, for dinner—Give chase to some more of the enemy—And halt again at Marikrishnâpuram, where another skirmish takes place—The opposing force retreats to Manjakuppam—A scout says that he saw this—Letters, etc., from Surat, to Governor, and M. Dulaurens—The bearers of these make contradictory reports concerning the Nizâm—They state also that they were taken to Mahfuz Khân's camp, but released—The enemy surprise the camp at Manjakuppam—After a long fight, the French retreat, with loss of supplies—And are followed as far as Tavalakuppam—Remarks of the Governor on hearing this news—General impression as to the nature of the defeat—Governor is glad at the reverse—Says that M. de Bury, and other officers, refused to serve under M. Paradis—And that he is pleased at their discomfiture—He reminds diarist of a conversation when the force was starting out—And says that diarist's prediction proved correct—Details of supplies captured by the English—Mr. Morse's dubash, waylaid, and robbed of papers, money, etc.—This done, as Mr. Morse was writing to Fort St. David—Governor directs diarist to arrange for seizure of the letters—The measures taken to effect this—Dubash

receives, from Mr. Morse, a letter, for transmission—Four of diarist's servants sent to waylay, and rob him—They take from him, and a companion, letters, etc.—One letter from Mr. Morse, and another from the dubash to G. Nâyakkan—The former contains nothing of importance—The latter relates merely to Mr. and Mrs. Morse's private affairs—Disposal of the stolen money—Governor repeats, to diarist, M. de Bury's explanation of his defeat—The reverse attributed to the disobedience of his officers—The sailors also blamed—Diarist speaks of the effect which the presence of M. Paradis would have had—And tells an anecdote, in illustration of this—Further conversation—The matters in charge of which Governor places diarist—Sûriya Pillai brought before him—His insubordinate conduct—The cause of this—Excuse offered by him—Diarist refuses to accept it—And has words with Tânappa Mudali touching the man—Under orders from M. Dulaurens, Kommana Mudali visits diarist—And takes him to task for interfering at Azhisapâkkam—Diarist replies that what he did was under orders of the Governor—He asks why Sûriya Pillai, alone, disobeyed—Denies other allegations made against him—And challenges inquiry—Reply of Kommana Mudali—Governor decides to burn all the Nawâb's villages—Diarist's suggestion for protecting certain others—This approved—Tickets, with the Governor's seal, ordered—And sent, with a letter, to the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr—Diarist mentions others to be similarly treated—And speaks specially in favour of some—Governor twits him with having said the like of a now hostile Reddi—Conversation as to this man's conduct—Governor refuses him a ticket, and diarist retires—Governor sends for him again—And orders gifts for two Jemadars—Additions made to these—At the invitation of the Governor, diarist goes to Ariyânkuppam—The troops there, drawn up, in review order—Madame Dupleix present—Speech made by the Governor when presenting the gifts—Rs. 3,000 distributed amongst the troops—Governor converses with the officer commanding the sailors—And then chats with diarist—News, of various kinds, from the camp of M. 'Alî Khân—Diarist tells all this to the Governor—Who asks regarding the Nizâm, and Nawâb—Report that Anwar Khân has desired M. 'Ali Khân to cease hostilities—Other news—Alleged effect of the mere mention of the French, in M. 'Alî Khân's camp—Movements of M. 'Alî Khân, and Anwar Khân—Diarist tells the Governor the route which they must follow, to reach Pondichery—Governor questions him concerning Cuddalore—His reply—Conversation touching his knowledge of the place—Governor directs inquiry to be made—Asks for a plan of a certain road—Diarist sketches two different routes—Conversation which ensues—Contents of a letter to M. 'Alî Khân, which awaits despatch—Governor hands the letter, and a present, to the messenger—And, it being Christmas day, goes to church—On his return, he sends for diarist—Conversation as to the lack of grain for Pondichery—Governor makes a suggestion—Diarist

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demurs to it—Mentions what M. Lenoir did on a like occasion—And says that saving the starving poor will add to the Governor's credit —Conversation as to the special price at which to sell paddy— Governor fixes this, and orders that any loss shall be debited to him— He tells diarist why he intends to attack M. 'Alî Khân—Diarist makes a flattering speech—Governor departs for Ariyânkuppam.

Dairist reports to the Governor that M. 'Ali Khan is at Nellikuppam.

And is said to be going to Manjakuppam.

Wednesday, 14*th December* 1746, *or* 3*rd Mârgazhi of Akshaya*.—Having received news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân halted last night at Tiruviti, and reached Nellikuppam, at 10 this morning, I reported this to the Governor, and further informed him of the rumour that he would go, in the afternoon, to the Company's garden at Manjakuppam, which is inside the boundary of Fort St. David. The Governor asked me whether the authorities at Fort St. David had funds to meet the expenses of these troops. I told him that the Dutch at Negapatam were assisting them. He directed me to send spies to ascertain how many guns, peons, soldiers, and East Indians, there were in Fort St. David and the batteries round about, and also in those at Cuddalore. I replied that I had already obtained particulars. He desired me to record these in French. I promised to do so. He asked me how I managed to procure the information, even before it was demanded. I said that I knew he would require it, and that I had therefore secured it, and made a record in writing. He was very much pleased, and began to praise me. I refrain from committing to paper what he said, as I might be charged with egotism.

Diarist directed to procure certain information.

Replies that it has been obtained.

Governor much pleased.

* As the captains of the soldiers, the officers, ensigns, and lieutenants, protested against being placed under the command of M. Paradis, in view to the proposed attack on Fort St. David, a meeting of the Council was held, and the Governor was occupied in summoning the captains and officers, and MM. de Bury, de la Tour, and Plaisanes, singly, and two and four at a time, pacifying them by pointing out similar instances in Europe, and showing them statements on record, as well as papers, to prove that there had been precedents. He then sent for me, and bade me instruct the Nayinâr † to be ready to start with sixty peons, and also to procure provisions, which were to be laden on the camels that had come with M. Paradis.

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Military officers object to M. Paradis as leader.

Governor has much trouble in pacifying them.

He gives certain orders to diarist.

This evening, the following news was brought to the Governor, by one of the Nayinâr's peons, when I, two of the Company's peons, and four of the Nayinâr's, were present. Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, whose following consisted of 1,500 horse, 19 guns, large and small, 100 rocket men, 500 matchlock men, 100 camels, and 10 elephants, set out, in company with 'Abd-ul Jalîl, each riding on an elephant. They first halted at Tiruvêndipuram, and then proceeded to the garden at Manjakuppam, where

News of M. 'Ali Khan's movements.

And of his reception by the English.

* This list of officers is a literal translation of what appears in the diary, and the sequence is the same.

" The whole of the Military Officers " would, no doubt, be an appropriate free rendering.

† Karuttambi Nayinâr ; the head of the police.

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Mr. Croke, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, who was escorted by some Europeans, received him. A salute was then fired, in honour of the arrival of the party. Four Englishmen, in carriages, accompanied Muḥammad 'Alî Khân's force, from Gingee, and they are now with him and the Deputy Governor. When the English assigned the road between the Pennâr and Pondichery for the encampment of the army, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân asked them whither it led. Their answer was: "To Pondichery, and Madras"; on which he inquired what the distance was between the spot where they were, and Pondichery. They replied that it was a little less than a league. He then became incensed, and exclaimed: "You have arranged that my camp, and that of my troops, shall be on the road by which the French are expected to advance from Pondichery to attack this place. We will go to Tiruvêndipuram." So saying, he promptly departed. An Indian hour after he had gone, the Deputy Governor, with Rangappa Nâyakkan and others, went to him, appeased his wrath, and brought him back, proposing to accommodate him and his followers on the banks of the Pennâr, to the north-west of Manjakuppam, near Tiruppâpuliyûr, somewhere between that village, and what is known as the 'horsetail' battery; it being an out-of-the-way place, about a mile distant from the west of the public road. Regarding even this as too unsafe, he desired that some guns and a force of sepoys,

The spot assigned for his camp.

He is displeased with this, and goes elsewhere.

Induced to return, and another site is indicated to him.

Asks that his front may be protected.

from Fort St. David, should be posted in front of his men. The English acceded to this. On reconsideration, however, he was dissatisfied with even this spot, so he decided to quit it, and to pitch his camp at Koṇḍûr Tope, which lies further from the suburbs of Fort St. David. Here, he and his whole force were encamped together. They were exceedingly afraid that M. Paradis might set upon them that night, with a body of 500 soldiers.

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Finally camps at Kondur Tope.

He and his men greatly fear a night attack.

On hearing this, the Governor desired the man who had brought the news to repeat it briefly before M. Paradis and a few others, and he requested me to translate it into French. After I had done this, the Governor said that it was all true. He further remarked: "Muḥammad 'Alî Khân ought not to have shown his lack of courage, in the way that he has. Could he not have maintained his prestige by suppressing the motives which led him to betake himself within the limits of English territory?" I thereupon observed: "It is due to your remarkable good fortune that apprehensions of this nature have arisen in the hearts of Muḥammad 'Alî and his men. With all their advantages in armament, they cannot, when your troops actually take the field, hold out against them." The Governor, and all the Europeans who were there, unanimously said that I was right.

Governor causes this news to be repeated to M. Paradis.

Remarks of Governor as to M. 'Ali Khan.

The observations thereupon, made by diarist.

M. Dupleix then inquired whether any news had been received regarding Maḥfuz Khân's movements. I replied: "He is now at Amarampêt. It

Who gives M. Dupleix the news as Mahfuz Khan.

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is said that, after having advanced as far as Sadras, Anwar Khân fell back, and joined Maḥfuz Khân." The Governor remarked that a letter which he had received from Madras corroborated my statement. He then asked me how Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was faring. My reply was that, from what I had heard, he was improving. On this, he said: "His end seems to be as far off as ever. It is certainly remarkable that this man, who is eighty-six years old, still survives so many maladies." I observed: "Can one's life come to an end unless the appointed time arrives: until then, one must linger on in that way." "True," he exclaimed, and then retired.

And says that the Nawab is better.

Conversation as to the tenacity of life of the Nawab.

Monday, 19th December 1746, or 8th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—At about seven Indian hours after sunrise, the chief of the peons furnished me with the news that thirty of the Englishmen who were imprisoned in the fort, had escaped by leaping over the wall, after having severely beaten the guard, and that they were then pursued, with the result that eight were picked up on the bank of the salt river, with injuries to their hips and legs, which rendered them unable to walk further. I said: "Very well. Send out more men in search of others." At about 3 in the afternoon, some peons from Nayinâr told me that four more had been caught, of whom two had been sent to Ariyânkuppam, and the other two would have to be carried here. I desired them to bring the men. Again, at 4 o'clock, the watchman of Kuppam, a village

Dashing escape of English prisoners.

Eight recaptured at once, owing to injuries.

Four more retaken in the afternoon.

to the west of Villiyanallûr, informed me that ten unarmed Englishmen were hiding amongst some date-palms and sangam* bushes. I at once reported this to the Governor, and caused twenty musketeers to be sent out. They captured the ten Englishmen, brought them in at 8, and left them in custody of the guard at the fort gate.

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And later, ten who were hiding in low jungle.

Information having been received, through our scouts, that a detachment of 300 horse, from the Muhammadan army which had encamped west of Cuddalore, was hanging about Azhisapâkkam, a force was despatched from Ariyânkuppam, and sighted the enemy as they were marching abreast of Muttirusa Pillai Châvadi. The Mahé sepoys, and some of the soldiers, at once gave chase to them, on which they fled. Two or three Englishmen, mounted on horses, entered the village of Azhisapâkkam, and shot two cows. When they were pursued, both they and 100 horsemen, who were in the neighbourhood, decamped. The French troops thereupon marched on to Kâttupillaiyâr Kôvil, where they halted. As the men composing this force were eating their dinners, 600 mounted men from the camp of Muhammad 'Alî Khân came in sight, on which the Mahé sepoys, a few soldiers, and ten horsemen, set off in pursuit of them. Not being able to offer any resistance, they fled, and were chased as far as Bâhûr. Our men then went on to

Force sent to attack the enemy's horse, near Azhisapakkam

The latter take to flight.

The French make a halt, for dinner.

Give chase to some more of the enemy.

* A thorny shrub named *Azima tetracantha*

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And halt at Marikrishnapuram, where another skirmish takes place.

Marikrishṇâpuram, where they halted. Here, again, the enemy, including some Englishmen, appeared and, from the cover of the boundary hedge, fired innumerable shots at our men, who, in return, discharged four or five cannon. The Mahé sepoys, and some of the soldiers, then charged and attacked them. The outcome of this skirmish was that the enemy retreated to the garden at Manjakuppam, carrying with them four wounded. Our men, none of whom were injured, encamped near the boundary hedge.

The opposing force retreats to Manjakuppam.

A scout says that he saw this.

Malaiyappa Mudali, a scout, said that he had seen all these doings, with his own eyes.

Letters, etc., from Surat to Governor, and M. Dulaurens.

This evening, some messengers from Surat brought letters addressed to the Governor, and M. Dulaurens, and also some despatches from the authorities in France. The subject of these is not known. The men who brought them made the following statement to the Governor:

The bearers of these make contradictory reports concerning the Nizam.

"Having received a report of the death of the Subahdar of Surat, Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, escorted by a merchant of Surat named Mullâ 'Abd-ul-Shâh Aḥmad Khân Bâqar-ud-dîn, has left Hyderabad, and is on his way thither, by way of Aurangabad. It is said, that Nâṣîr Jang, also, is about to go thither. There is however a more recent rumour that Niẓâm-ul-mulk has arranged matters amicably with Nâṣîr Jang, who has in consequence abandoned visiting Surat. On our return from Satâra, whither we went to see Sau Bhâji Rao, we were

taken by a custom-house officer to the camp of Mahfuz Khân who permitted us to go on our way, on production of a certificate bearing the seal of Nizâm-ul-mulk."

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They state also that they were taken to M. Khan's camp, but released.

Tuesday, 20th December 1746, or 9th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—The news received, to-day, from our troops is as follows:

The enemy surprise the camp at Manjakuppam.

When encamped near Manjakuppam, the force was, at about four Indian hours before sunrise, surrounded on all sides by the Nawâb's horse, and the English, who fired on them with cannon, muskets, and rockets. They then prepared for action, and leaving 200 men in the garden, to guard the stores, the remainder fought very valiantly, in close order. The engagement continued for about ten Indian hours after day-break. On our side, one European was killed, and ten were wounded, whilst of the Mahé sepoys seven or eight were killed, and ten were wounded. On the side of the enemy the number of men and horses killed amongst the Muhammadans was respectively . . . . * and that of men wounded was . . . *; whilst amongst the English . . . . * were killed and . . . . * wounded. Eventually, the supplies of the French fell into the hands of the enemy, and our men not being able to hold their ground, retired to the east of Marikrishnâpuram, with their cattle and camels, and, marching along

After a long fight, the French retreat, with loss of supplies.

* Blank in the original.

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the beach, arrived at Ariyânkuppam, at 4 o'clock. Two of the camels, which were not able to get out of a mire at a water-course near Marikrishṇâpuram, were killed by our men. The Muhammadan horsemen, with whom there were also a few English, followed as far as Tavaḷakuppam, and then fell back.

And are followed as far as Tavaḷakuppam.

The Governor and I were receiving information of all this after 12 noon. On arrival of the news, he sent for me, and said as follows: "For four days, I urged that M. Paradis should be appointed to the command. But M. de Bury would not listen. Now see how he comes hurrying back. All this is due to his not taking my advice. Some do not understand, unless they are hit on the head. Note how things will go in future, and the course that they will follow."

Remarks of the Governor on hearing this news.

Most of the townsfolk were under the impression that the whole force had been destroyed, and rejoiced very much when it became known that it had returned in safety. I spoke to the people, in encouraging terms, explaining to them what had taken place. I then returned home, had supper, and went to bed. Neither the Governor, nor I, were cast down by this discomfiture. The supplies, alone, fell into the hands of the enemy and no other damage was sustained. All have returned. I have recorded what I was told had actually occurred.

General impression as to the nature of the defeat.

The following is what the Governor said this afternoon: "I am very glad that our people have sustained a reverse. I spoke ss earnestly as I could

Governor glad at the reverse.

to M. de Bury, and other officers, in view to M. Paradis being appointed to the chief command, but they refused to serve under his orders, on the plea that he was but an engineer, and they asked me to give them a trial, and see whether they would not be as victorious as he had been. It was then my hope that they might return discomfited. This is what has actually come to pass, and I am pleased, although I am somewhat cast down at the thought that our men have sustained a defeat. When M. de Bury and his fellows were starting on the expedition, you, on noticing that M. Paradis was not accompanying them, asked me to whom intelligence should be furnished by the scouts. I told you that M. de Bury was going, and desired that they should continue supplying him with news, and at the same time mentioned that M. Paradis would go later on, and could then be communicated with. You, however, said to me: 'It would be well if M. Paradis took the command. The very mention of his name, will cause men to tremble. If he does not go, neither the Muhammadans nor the English will have the least fear.' Your prediction has proved correct."

Says that M. de Bury and his fellows refused to serve under M. Paradis.

And that he is pleased at their discomfiture.

He reminds diarist of a conversation when the force was starting.

And says that diarist's prediction proved correct.

On this occasion, the Governor talked to me for about four Indian hours, and to record all that he said would fill, at least, 100 pages. I have given the gist of the conversation.

Details of supplies captured by the English.

The following is a list of what the English captured at the fight near Marikrishnâpuram: Company's cattle, etc., about 250, or 260; tents

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about 120, or 130; muskets 250, in five boxes; copper jugs for pouring out brandy 60; kegs of spirits 100; kegs of powder 50; pigs 100; sheep 1,400; and fowls 2,000; besides bread, biscuit, dishes, and plates.

Mr. Morse's dubash waylaid, and robbed of papers, money, etc.

I noted in the diary of the * 8th instant that, on that night, at about 10 o'clock, Lakshmaṇa Mudali, the brother of Perumâḷ Mudali, who is the dubash of Mr. Morse, and one Kandappan were, when on their way home, waylaid, to the west of the Deputy Governor's house, by five or six men, and deprived of what money, goods, and papers, they had in their possession. I will now record all the circumstances connected with this affair, as it might be thought strange that such a daring robbery should have been perpetrated on a high road, when it was but 10 at night, and also near the house of the Deputy Governor. When it came to the knowledge of M. Dupleix, about fifteen or twenty days ago, that Mr. Morse and the authorities at Fort St. David were writing to each other, and that MM. de Bausset and Friell were constantly visiting and speaking to Mr. Morse, he, reprimanded the last named, asking what business they, as Frenchmen, could have with that gentleman. He called them dogs; and used other abusive language of a similar kind towards them. He then sent for me, and said: "I hear that Mr. Morse is communicating with

This done, as Mr. Morse was writing to Fort St. David.

* There is no such entry in the diary of this date.

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Fort St. David, by means of letters. I wish you to depute proper men to seize, and bring them to me." He then went on to say: "This is a matter which should not be entrusted to the chief of the peons. He cannot carry it through. He would spoil the whole thing. You must arrange it yourself, by employing suitable men." He gave me these instructions about fifteen days ago. I at once employed two agents, each on a salary of a pagoda a month, and desired them to ascertain everything that took place at Mr. Morse's residence, and to make prompt report to me. I have accordingly been kept informed, daily, of every transaction there, and of the letters received from Fort St. David. Yesterday, a young Brâhman brought one from there, and delivered it to Mr. Morse, who, after reading it, told him that he would give a reply. His dubash Lakshmaṇan then instructed the young Brâhman to go to the house where he was living, and where he proposed bringing Mr. Morse's letter to Fort St. David. As soon as this news reached me, I arranged for the Brâhman being secretly seized, and confined in the house of the chief of the peons; and deputed four of my palanquin bearers, who were accompanied by Azhagiri Chetti, to take possession of, and bring away, the letters carried by Lakshmaṇan. To make it appear that this was done by robbers—lest the abstraction of the papers, alone, might create suspicion—I instructed them to take from him, by violence, whatever money

Governor directs diarist to arrange for seizure of the letters.

The measures taken to effect this.

The dubash receives, from Mr. Morse, a letter, for transmission.

Four of diarist's servants sent to waylay, and rob him.

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They take from him, and a companion, letters, etc.

and other articles he had about him. Lakshmaṇan and another person who accompanied him, were accordingly waylaid, at the bridge to the west of the Deputy Governor's. The money they had, namely, 10 pagodas, fanams to the same amount, and some rupees, making in all 27 pagodas; and the letters which they bore, were snatched from them; and their clothes, including their coats, were torn. The sham robbers at once brought the money to me, as also the letters, amongst which was one addressed by Mr. Morse to the authorities at Fort St. David, and another, in Tamil, written by Lakshmaṇan to Guruvappa Nâyakkan. I handed these over to the Governor, who transferred them to M. Mathieu, bidding him examine the contents of the English letter. He said that there was nothing particular in it, and that it ran thus: "It is my fate that has subjected me to the miseries which have come upon me. I pine here, drinking my own blood. This being the will of God, what can we do? I hope you, at least, will act with judgment, and continue to govern your settlement." I then explained to the Governor the contents of the letter from Lakshmaṇan, which was addressed to Guruvappa Nâyakkan. They were to the following effect: "Be good enough to take out and forward Mrs. Morse's boxes inlaid with ivory, her clothing, and other articles. Please furnish information as to the prices of the piece-goods purchased, and sent from Cuddalore. As regards debts due to Mr. Morse,

One letter from Mr. Morse, and another from the dubash, to G. Nayakkan.

The former contains nothing of importance.

The latter relates merely to Mr. & Mrs. Morse's private affairs.

by merchants, rigorous measures should, if necessary, be taken to enforce payment. All the money available, and all the goods and other articles belonging to him, should be kept in Fort St. David." He then desired that the 27 pagodas which the peons had brought should be distributed amongst them. I have, however, kept the money with me, as he is likely to ask me for it again. All this thieving has been perpetrated in view to procure the letters.

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Disposal of the stolen money.

I give, below, the purport of a conversation which took place between me and the Governor, this evening. He said: "M. de Bury has related to me the particulars of the recent expedition. Seventy or eighty of the Muhammadan horsemen fell. Of the native sepoys, 200 or 300 were killed. If the action had continued for two Indian hours longer, many more Muhammadans would have been slain, and our force would have reached Arcot. The officers who accompanied the expedition would not obey their commanding officer, and each persisted in having his own way. It is to this that he attributes the reverse. He said that as a strong force could not be detailed for the protection of the spare ammunition and supplies, which were consequently carried off, our men had not enough powder and ball, or provisions, to enable them to continue the struggle. M. de Bury, and the officers who were with him, charged the men of the navy with disobedience, and partly imputed the failure to their conduct. I,

Governor repeats, to diarist, M. de Bury's explanation of his defeat.

The reverse attributed to the disobedience of his officers.

The sailors also blamed.

Chap. XXXVII. — 1746. Diarist speaks of the effect that M. Paradis's presence would have had.

however, imputed it to theirs." I replied: "M. Paradis's name is held in such dread there, that if he had gone with the expedition, and remained inactive, the enemy would have fled merely on the strength of his presence. I cannot adequately describe how they tremble at the very mention of his name.

And tells an anecdote, in illustration of this.

There was a man in our community known as 'Gun-Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan'. It is said that, during his time, when the horses of Muhammadans were taken to be watered they would not drink, but lifted up their heads, and looked back in the direction from which they had come, until they were told 'Gun-Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan is not here. Go on; drink.' Just in this fashion, do the men of the Muhammadan army shake at the very name of M. Paradis. More

Further conversation.

on the subject might be regarded as flattery. When you hear further, from other sources, you will be convinced of the truth of my statement." He exclaimed: "It is true. In future, I will send M. Paradis." He further added: "You must ascertain

The matters in charge of which the Governor places diarist.

all the news, and keep me informed. You had better take charge of all matters connected with the supply of cattle, coolies, and peons, and so save me the trouble of attending to them." I said "Very well."

Wednesday, 21st December 1746, or 10th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, Swâminâdhan, whom I

Suriya Pillai is brought before him.

had sent to Azhisapâkkam, to bring Sûriya Piḷḷai, returned with him. For four days prior to the despatch of the expedition against Fort St. David, the authorities of the villages within which French

territory lay, had, by order of the Governor, been called upon by me to procure and supply coolies. I wrote to Ozhukarai, and other villages, including Azhisapâkkam, on the subject, but no coolies were received from the last mentioned of these, nor did Sûriya Piḷḷai attend, when summoned. This led to my sending a Company's peon, to fetch him. When he arrived, I asked him why he had not complied with the demand for coolies, or appeared when sent for. His answer was that everyone had absconded. Speaking in severe terms, I pointed out that 150 men had been received from the adjoining village of Ariyânkuppam, which is not a tenth of the size of his, and that it was an impertinence on his part not to have sent any. Bidding him present himself before the Governor, I went to my areca-nut store-house, and during the time that I was there, I was sent for by M. Dupleix, on whom I accordingly waited. As I was on my way back, I came, at the entrance to Governor's house, on Tânappa Mudali, who was talking to Azhisapâkkam Sûriya Piḷḷai. On seeing me, he said: "Please send Sûriya Piḷḷai back to his village." Believing that he was a gentleman, I made him acquainted with everything done by the man, and remarked that he did not deserve to be excused, and that his conduct ought to be brought to the notice of the Governor, and an adequate punishment awarded to him. Tânappa Mudali exclaimed: "This is not in your power." I replied: "You will soon know whether it is, or not."

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His insubordinate conduct.

The cause of this.

Excuse offered by him.

Diarist refuses to accept it.

And has words wit Tanappa Mudali touching the man.

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Under orders of M. Dulaurens, Kommana Mudali visits diarist.

And takes him to task for interfering at Azhisapakkam.

As I was about to see the Governor on the subject, Kommana Mudali came to me, and said as follows; premising that he did so at the bidding of M. Dulaurens: "You have called away all the inhabitants of Azhisapâkkam. You have, it is said, not only obstructed the collection of taxes, but also hindered the supply of water to the rice fields. You have further, it would seem, used abusive language towards the men there. It must be remembered that Azhisapâkkam differs from other villages, in that it belongs to M. Dumas, and not to the Company. It, therefore, should not be interfered with; and, if necessary, the Governor will be addressed on the subject." To this I retorted, saying:

Diarist replies that what he did was under orders of the Governor.

"It was not on my own account that I wrote for them. No village was called upon to supply coolies, without orders from the Governor. In each communication on the subject, there was an express note that action was taken under his instructions. It was nowhere said that it originated with me. Did not the villages so addressed send a reply, and also supply men by hundreds, and fifties? Why did Sûriya Pillai, alone, abstain from replying, or furnishing coolies, or even from attending when summoned to do so? On previous occasions, did not Kanakarâya Mudali and Tânappa Mudali write to Azhisapâkkam, and procure coolies? It was apparently because the requisition proceeded from me, that some one desired to create ill-feeling between me and M. Dulaurens, and therefore imputed to me things

He asks why Suriya Pillai, alone, disobeyed.

which I never did ; such as that I had prevented the collection of taxes, had hindered the distribution of water to the fields, and had dissuaded the local Reḍḍis from returning to their village. Should there be truth in any of these statements, I am willing to be treated as an offender, and to be fined. Let an undertaking to the same effect be taken, in writing, from the person who furnished the information, and let the matter be formally investigated." Saying that he took my side in the matter, Kommaṇa Mudali promised that he would speak to M. Dulaurens, requested me to do so too, and then departed. He visited me again in the evening, and repeated his request.

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Denies the other allegations made against him.

And challenges inquiry.

Reply of Kommana Mudali.

The Governor sent for me to-day, and said : "I am determined that all the villages belonging to the Nawâb shall be burned. What distinguishing mark shall I give to the jaghir villages appertaining to the fort at Vazhudâvûr, so that they may be unmolested." I replied : "Anything that may appear agreeable to you." He then said : "Would it not do to hoist a white flag, in each of them." I answered : "Other villages may do so. You might furnish each with a ticket bearing your seal, impressed on wax, just in the same way as you do for the guidance of the postal authorities, when despatching your letters to Madras. The villages concerned should be desired to produce these, on the arrival of our troops, to whom instructions should be given that places where the ticket is shown, should not be molested.

Governor decides to burn all the Nawab' villages.

Diarist's suggestion for protecting certain others.

CHAP. XXXVII. — 1746. This approved. Tickets, with the Governor's seal, ordered.

This appears to me to be a more feasible plan." On this, he said: "What you have suggested seems to be the proper course: we must adopt it. Please tell Mathieu to make up fifty tickets, affixing to each a wax seal." I gave orders accordingly. The Governor then summoned me, and gave directions to write a letter to Mîr Ḥusain Khân, the Killedar of Vazhudâvûr, sending him as many sealed tickets as he had villages. I said that I would do so, and wrote the following letter: "Muḥammad 'Alî Khân has arrived in these parts, and is giving much trouble to our people, and doing harm in our villages. We have patiently waited until now, but he does not seem to abate his evil ways. We have therefore no other alternative than to sack and burn all his villages, and to make the inhabitants of them prisoners. But as we are mutual friends, and as we regard your villages as though they were our own, please distribute these sealed tickets throughout them." With this communication, we sent him forty-five of these. I then said to the Governor: "Sir, there are now the villages belonging to Navamâl, and those of Murtaẓâ 'Alî Khân; we shall have to send tokens to them, also." He replied: "Very well; do so." I next told him that there were some Jaghirdars who were of much help to us, and that protection should be accorded to them likewise. He asked me who they were. I answered: "Their names are Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib, Muttu Mallâ Reḍḍi, and Muttu Venkaṭapati Reḍḍi. We must

And sent, with a letter, to the Killedar of Vazhudavur.

Diarist mentions others to be similarly treated.

send tickets to their villages; they are of much use to us because we obtain paddy from their lands, to the value of two lakhs of pagodas, and their wives and children, too, are with us. As we are at war with the Muhammadans, Mahfuz Khân wrote to these men not to send any of their grain to Pondichery. They, however, have taken no notice of these orders, but continue to supply us, as usual." I mentioned to him some other points in their favour. He then remarked: "Some time ago, you gave me the same advice with regard to a certain Reddi belonging to Villiyanallûr; but now this very man is doing us harm from the camp of Muhammad 'Alî Khân." I replied: "Sir, how could he help himself? When his master sends for him, and personally gives him orders, how can he avoid compliance with them." I spoke in terms that were favourable to the Reddi. But the Governor said: "Your Reddi cannot disobey his master's orders; but when our men marched against Villiyanallûr, he offered resistance, and attempted to attack them. The friendship of such a fellow will not suit us. If there are persons other than he, to whom you may desire to send tickets, you may do so." I said: "Very well," took leave, and went to dinner.

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Governor twits him with having said the like of a now hostile Reddi.

Conversation as to this man's conduct.

Governor refuses him a ticket, and diarist retires.

At 2 in the afternoon, the Governor sent for me again. I presented myself before him, and he then said: "There are two brothers, Jemadars of the Mahé sepoys. I wish to give them a present; please send for two shawls." I replied that I

Governor sends for him again.

And orders gifts for two Jemadars.

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would, and gave orders accordingly. After doing this, I remarked to him: "Sir, as these men are sepoys, it would look well if you presented them also with swords, pistols, and muskets." He asked me to bring him a couple of swords and a brace of pistols, which were in my custody. I produced them as directed, and he showed them to me. I said that they were good, and, after looking at the pistols, he handed them to Diego, and sent word to M. Cornet to bring him two other pairs of pistols, which he did. He next summoned his accountant, and ordered him to take 3,000 rupees, at once, to Ariyânkuppam. Then he desired me to approach, and said: "You have never seen our soldiers; you had better come to Ariyânkuppam, and have a look at them." He asked his lady to start first, and then followed her. I also went to Ariyânkuppam. On our arrival there, the Frenchmen and the Mahé sepoys were drawn up in review order, and when the Governor, after alighting from his carriage near the Christian church, walked towards the battery, the drums were beaten. He halted not far from the bungalow of Madame Albert, which is close to the battery. Madame Dupleix was seated there in a chair, and as the Governor was inspecting the sepoys, 'Abd-ul-Raḥmân and his younger brother, Shaikh Ḥasan, advanced, and saluted him. He presented to each of them a pair of pistols, a sword, and a shawl, and said: "If you exert yourselves to your utmost in the interests

Additions made to these.

At the invitation of the Governor, diarist goes to Ariyankuppam.

The troops there drawn up in review order.

Madame Dupleix present.

Speech by the Governor when presenting the gifts.

of the Company, God will bless you, and favour you with further honours and rewards." They replied in polite language: "Sir, we have always behaved so as to deserve well of you. We will continue to work unflaggingly for you." The Governor then ordered M. Duquesne to distribute the Rs. 3,000 amongst the troops, and this was done. After this, escorted by soldiers, he went to the Christian church, where the sailors were, under their captain, M. Benoin. Having had a conversation with him, the Governor left the church, and Madame Dupleix joined him. She, however, went on in advance. The Governor then said to me: "How do you like the plan of giving presents, just now? Do you approve of it?" I told him that it was but proper that people should be encouraged in time of war. We also conversed about Fort St. David, and the camp of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. The Governor then entered his carriage, and went to Pondichery, whither I followed him.

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3,000 rupees distributed amongst the troops.

Governor converses with the officer commanding the sailors.

And then chats with diarist

The following news was received during the night. About 100 horses, as also about 200 or 250 sepoys and Jemadars, have died in the camp of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân; Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has instructed his son to discontinue the war; Muḥammad 'Alî Khân leaves his camp at night, and betakes himself to the neighbourhood of the hill at Tiruvêndipuram, and to the Akkal Nâyakkan jungles; 400 or 500 horsemen are kept mounted at the camp, with their faces towards Pondichery, for fear that the

News, of various kinds, from the camp of M. 'Ali Khan.

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French might come upon them from there; there are many dead, and wounded, in the camp; and the elephant which was injured by a cannon ball, but escaped at the time, is dead. By the time I had told all this to the Governor, it was 9 o'clock. He asked me what the news was regarding Nizâm-ul-mulk, and whether Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was not yet dead, and conversed on like general matters. I gave him the necessary replies, and went home.

Diarist tells all this to the Governor.

Who asks regarding the Nizam, and Nawab.

Thursday, 22nd December 1746, or 11th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—To-day, news came, by one of our spies, from the camp of Muhammad 'Alî Khân, that a camel driver had brought a letter to him from Anwar Khân, wherein it was written: "I intend to discontinue the war, and to make peace; you need not continue hostilities." The men who brought this news then said: "The rumour there is that M. Paradis is about to fall upon the army. Whenever his name is mentioned, there is great alarm throughout the camp." Another man came, and reported to me that the English, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, seemed not to be on friendly terms, and that the latter was very much annoyed with the Governor of Fort St. David, and had said: "When we, who have come to help you, are attacked by the enemy, and have to fight them, you remain shut up in your fort. Your people are not brave; they are only fit for trade, and not at all for war." It is said that he spat in his face, and refused to accept the present that was sent to him; that the

Report that Anwar Khan had desired M. 'Ali Khan to cease hostilities.

Other news.

mere mention, in the camp, of the name of the French inspires terror to such a degree that even pregnant women miscarry; and that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân pitches his tents at a distance from the camp, and visits it only after daybreak. I took the Pariah spy who brought this news to the Governor, and made him repeat it in his presence; and, after hearing it all, he exclaimed . . . .*

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Alleged effect of the mere mention of the French, in M. 'Ali Khan's camp.

Sunday, 25th December 1746, or 14th of Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, our spies brought the following information: "Maḥfuz Khân, with his followers, left Amarampêṭ, and has halted near Sâttanchêri, and Paṇâyûr. Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, whose camp was near Fort St. David, has asked Maḥfuz Khân to join him; his intention being to advance against Pondichery. Anwar Khân is also coming with them. They are accompanied by about 2,000 horse." I reported this news to the Governor, and he desired me to give him a description of the route referred to. I explained that the road lead both to Arcot, and to Pondichery. He said to me: "Which is the direct road from here to Arcot?" I replied as follows: "To come here, from Amarampêṭ, one must go by way of Chingleput, Karunguzhi, Madurântakam, Pulampâkkam, and on to Sûnâmpêt, reaching this after passing Âlattûr and Vazhudâvûr. Instead of taking this line, they are inclining to the westward. They must, therefore,

Movements of M. 'Ali Khan, and Anwar Khan.

Diarist tells the Governor, the route they must follow to reach Pondichery.

* Blank in the original.

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either go to Arcot, or, impelled by their fears, move further westwards, and turn from there eastwards." He exclaimed: "Yes, it must be as you say; else, why should they keep at such a distance?" He then said: "How many boats are there at Cuddalore? In what state is the river? Is there any bridge by which it can be crossed? On which side of the stream is the battery?" I replied: "There is a battery on the southern bank of the river, and another on the northern. On the western side of the river, there are boats, etc., and near the water's edge there are the dwellings of fishermen and East Indians." On hearing this, he said: "Are you well acquainted with the locality?" I answered: "I have travelled, by boat, from Cuddalore to Fort St. David, some ten or twenty times, and I have been from Fort St. David to Cuddalore, by the same kind of conveyance. I saw the place on these occasions, but did not take any special notice of it." He then said: "I visited it once, when Mr. Pitt was there, and I have the same recollection of it as you. With all that; as these matters must be properly inquired into, send fitting persons to do this." He then asked me for a plan of the road leading from Koṇḍûr Tope, where Muḥammad 'Ali Khân had his camp, to Ariyânkuppam. I accordingly gave him a sketch of two different routes between those places; the one a little circuitous, without marshy ground, and fields; the other short, but

Governor questions him concerning Cuddalore.

His reply.

Conversation touching his knowledge of the place.

Governor directs inquiry to be made. Asks for a plan of a certain road.

Diarist sketches two different routes.

across fields and channels ; the former being about two leagues in length, and the second about four and a third. Having looked at the plan, he said that one road was very much longer than the other, and that he intended going to Ariyânkuppam that night, in order to frighten the enemy a little. I replied : "Sir ; you recollect the man who came from Muhammad Alî Khân last night ; a letter is ready for him, and you wished to send him away." When he asked me what the substance of this was, I said that it ran as follows : "We are in receipt of your letter, and have understood its contents. Now, in it, you say that you desire our friendship, and await our reply. You allege that you do not trespass in our villages, or annoy our subjects and that, although this is the case, our men, when your troops halted near Fort St. David, outside our boundary, suddenly assailed them. This, however, is not what actually occurred. When we were advancing against our enemies, your soldiers fell upon, and attacked, ours. We never trespassed in your camp, or interfered with your people. Further ; you say in your letter : 'What is past is past. I now desire your friendship exceedingly. Such being my wish, I am quite ready to make peace.' In like manner, we wish for your good will, and nothing more. If you write to us what can be done to further this, we are prepared to meet your wishes, provided that they are reasonable." He then said : "You told me that two yards of cloth

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Conversation which ensues.

Contents of a letter to M. 'Alî Khân, which awaits despatch.

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were to be presented to the man who came from Muḥammad 'Alî ; are they ready ?" I replied in the affirmative. He then bade me call him ; and when he appeared, the Governor handed him the present, put the letter into his hands, gave a rupee to the man who accompanied him, and told me to send two peons with them, as far as Azhisapâkkam. This I did. As it was the festival of Christmas, the Governor went to church, and I to my areca-nut store-house. After he returned, and had drunk coffee, he sent for me, and said: "Rangappa, there is no grain in the market here ; have you considered this matter ?" I answered: "Sir, I anticipated that you would question me on this subject, and therefore made inquiry as to supplies, to the value of 2,000 pagodas, from Kakkaḷûrpêṭṭai and Pennâtûr, in the taluk belonging to Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain, and I settled the price ; but the grain will have to be brought through Vizhuppuram, and as I failed to see how this can be done, I have let the matter stand." He asked me whether the supplies could not be brought by some stratagem, or other. I told him that if we gave out that they were intended for Fort St. David, we could get them in, but not otherwise. He then questioned me as to whether there was no other route. I replied: "I do not know what other line the cart-drivers could suggest. Whatever they do, they must cross the Nawâb's ground." He observed: "Suppose we assure them that the consignment is intended for Fort St. David.

Governor gives the letter, and a present, to the messenger.

And, it being Christmas day, goes to church.

On his return, he sends for diarist.

Conversation as to lack of grain for Pondichery.

Governor makes a suggestion.

When they arrive within a short distance of this, cannot we compel those in charge to bring the carts here ?" I replied : "Sir, I will attempt to carry out your suggestions, but as our men are not brave, it will be rather difficult to carry them into effect." He exclaimed : "That is true ; please consider how it could be managed." I said : "Sir, you may be sure that I will exert myself ; you have already earned fame in every respect all over the country. I pray to God day and night that this affair, too, may contribute to it. In former days, M. Lenoir, when similarly circumstanced, acquired repute by a generous act; for he cancelled the tax, imported provisions at his own cost, and gained the credit of having saved the people from famine. It would signify but little what policy you might adopt in other matters. That you have saved the poor in a time of want, and have made them happy, will redound much to your credit, and my prayer to God is that this, also, may be the means of spreading your renown far and wide. Paddy which is obtained at the rate of 3 measures is sold at 3½. People residing here, as well as those living so far away as twenty leagues to the north and south, are blessing you, and their number is beyond calculation. To say more on this point, might be misconstrued as flattery, but upon inquiry you will learn the truth." He remarked: "All that you say is correct ; but if the paddy imported from outlying places be sold at 3 measures, will this cover the entire cost ?" I said: "I am afraid Sir, that it

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Diarist demurs to it.

Mentions what M. Lenoir did, on a like occasion.

And says that saving the starving poor will add to the Governor's credit.

Conversation as to the special price at which to sell paddy.

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Governor fixes this, and orders that any loss shall be debited to him.

will not, for we must include the charges and expenses of import." The Governor replied: "Let the cost be what it may, paddy must be sold at $3\frac{1}{2}$ measures. Any loss that may arise from this, can be entered in my account; it is of no consequence if there should be a loss of even 4,000 or 5,000 rupees. We must import paddy, and sell it at $3\frac{1}{2}$ measures. Please take the necessary steps with regard to this. I leave the matter entirely in your hands. To-night, I intend to beat up the forces of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. I propose adopting such measures as will divert the attention of the Muhammadans, and cause Mr. Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David, to believe that he is in danger, and so induce him to surrender his fort." I said: "Sir; God stands by you, and punishes those who have transgressed; what doubt can there now be as to the accomplishment of your designs?" We then went on to converse on various topics, some of them being, as usual, of an insignificant nature, and of these I have omitted to make mention, as they are not worthy of record. After a while, the Governor said: "I am going to Ariyânkuppam. Please remain here, continuing to make all necessary inquiries, and if there is anything important, you must come to me." He then took his departure. I went to my areca-nut store-house, and thence home.

Tells diarist why he intends to attack M. 'Alî Khan.

Diarist makes a flattering speech.

Governor departs for Ariyankuppam.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FROM DECEMBER 26TH, 1746, TO JANUARY 7TH, 1747.

News of the whereabouts of Mahfuz Khân and Anwar Khân—And that the former intends attacking Pondichery—Message, from Miyân Sâhib, to diarist—Inquires Governor's views on the war—And promises to act as he wishes—Diarist reports this at Ariyânkuppam, to the Governor—Who asks the news from Arcot—And then bids him return to Pondichery—Conversation between them—Governor, returning in the evening, asks the news—Diarist informs him of the contents of a letter from Port Novo—And repeats a series of wild tales told in it—He states to the Governor where Mahfuz Khân is—Further conversation—Diarist informed that one of his spies waits at the city gate—The Governor orders admission of two spies—They state that Mahfuz Khân has arrived at Tiruppâpuliyûr—Governor directs them to go there, and report what occurs—He inquires regarding certain messengers—Diarist explains the route by which Mahfuz Khân will join M. 'Alî Khân—Conversation on this subject—Governor asks diarist's views as to attacking Cuddalore—Diarist advises capture, and advance on Fort St. David—Governor approves, and sends for M. Paradis—Diarist points out a possible danger in the scheme proposed—And makes a suggestion—Governor acquiesces—M. Paradis arrives, and commends diarist's views—Conversation as to preparations—Diarist remarks that an attack as soon as Madras fell would have succeeded—And points out the need for capturing Fort St. David—Governor coincides, and asks M. Paradis—Who agrees—News of the junction of Mahfuz Khân, with M. 'Alî Khân—And particulars of the combined forces—Report of a false alarm in the Muhammadan camp—A force, in boats, to attack Cuddalore—Diarist sends letters, etc., to Arcot—Anwar Khân writes that he will come, if Madras is surrendered to him,—Letter from Killedar of Porto Novo— Diarist reports contents of this to the Governor—A reply sent—Governor questions diarist regarding Cuddalore—Men acquainted with that place, etc., sent with M. de la Tour—Governor orders a reply to Anwar Khân—This regrets inability to meet his request—But promises writing to the King, on the subject—Governor explains matters to the messenger—Diarist forwards a clock to Anwar Khân—Expedition against Cuddalore sets out—Jar of filth thrown into a temple, from enclosure of church of St. Paul—Complaint made to Governor, through diarist—Certain persons deputed to hold inquiry—Interference of Mme. Dupleix—Speculations of diarist as to the result of this—Impertinence of one Varlâm—Committee decides that the jar was thrown from the church—It is suggested to consult the priests—The senior of these told of the conclusion arrived at—The committee

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notices damage done to the temple wall--The priest imputes this to the temple authorities, themselves—Reply of the committee--The report made by it—What the Governor said, on hearing this—Diarist wishes M. Barneval a happy new year—His reply—Remark thereon of diarist—M. Barneval refers to the outrage on the temple—Diarist turns the conversation—Is summoned by the Governor—Who tells him that expedition to Cuddalore has returned—He replies that he had just heard of this—Conversation regarding the spy sent to Cuddalore—Diarist wishes the Governor a happy new year—And makes a flattering speech—To which the Governor replies—Diarist continues his flatteries—Intentions of the Governor as regards the priests—Remarks of diarist on hearing them—What the Governor says touching the priests—Diarist and he visit the church—Priests behave coldly to the former—The reason for this—Diarist's comments—Governor pays New Year's visits—Diarist reports the return of the spy—Governor directs that he be brought, in the evening—He asks the news from Cuddalore—Diarist reports its defenceless condition—And that the capture of it would be easy—Remarks of the Governor—He directs that further information be obtained—And then asks the news of the Muhammadans—The reply made by diarist—News that troops are being collected to attack Pondichery—Diarist incites Periya Aiyâ to harry the Muhammadans—He sends a letter agreeing to do so—Diarist goes to ask the Governor to see the bearers of this—A trooper from Anwar Khân stated to be coming—Governor directs diarist to take him to his house, and report what he says—The man delivers a message from Anwar Khân—He and a fellow servant depart—What diarist writes to Asad-ullah Ṣâhib—He arranges a visit of the mahânâṭṭârs to the Governor—He gives the Governor news of the enemy—And dwells on the fears which fill them—He mentions, also, the efforts of the English, to induce them to remain—Conversation as to the truth of these reports—Diarist refers to the failure of the Killedar of Porto Novo, to pay a promised visit—And explains the reason—What the Governor wrote to M. 'Alî Khân—The mahânâṭṭârs visit the Governor—Result of their speaking of the outrage on the temple—News that the Nâwab has bidden his sons to cease hostilities, and return—M. 'Alî Khân said to have decided to comply—Governor pleased—Celebration of the Epiphany—Innovations on the occasion—Presents sent to the Nawâb, and Gulâb Sing—Governor tells diarist that French soldiers had entered the enemy's camp by night—Conversation on the subject—Manôji brings reply from Anwar Khân—This states that it is not possible to conclude peace, at once—And that Manôji will give further details—The statement made by this man--Diarist informs the Governor what his messenger reported—And explains why the letter was written—Diarist then imparts to him news of various kinds—And reads a copy of an order issued by the Nizâm.

Monday, 26th December 1746, or 15th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—The Governor went to Ariyânkuppam yesterday, and remained there to-day. Meanwhile, I had news that the troops of Maḥfuz Khân and Anwar Khân had arrived at Sâlapâkkam, which belongs to Utramallûr, and had encamped there. In addition to this, Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib sent me word that Maḥfuz Khân was on his way to attack Pondichery, and that he had been asked to accompany him. Periya Piḷḷai, to whom Miyân Ṣâḥib had written, gave me the following message from him: "For upwards of thirty years, your Governor and I have been on terms of great intimacy; let me know his opinion in this matter. As we also, are close friends, you must clearly explain the circumstances to him, and write to me. I will act in accordance with his wishes. If he desires me not to join him, I will stay away. If, however, he permits me to go to him, I will do so." I replied to Periya Piḷḷai: "Very well; I will place the matter before the Governor, and let you have an answer." In view to reporting this news, Krishṇa Rao, Madanânda Paṇḍit, and I, proceeded to Ariyânkuppam, at 10 in the morning. I then had an interview with the Governor, and told him all that is written above. Having listened to me, he said: "It is well. Is there no news regarding Arcot?" I replied that up to that moment I had received none. He then said: "Be off with you, Sir." I replied: "Very well, Sir, I will depart. When

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News of the whereabouts of Mahfuz Khan and Anwar Khan.

And that the former intends attacking Pondichery.

Message from Miyan Sahib, to diarist.

Inquires Governor views on the war.

And promises to act as he wishes.

Diarist reports this, at Ariyankuppam, to the Governor.

Who asks for news from Arcot;

And then bids him return to Pondichery.

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Conversation between them.

will you be returning?" He smiled and exclaimed: "Seeing that I have come here, as a military commander, for the purpose of making war, how can I be expected to go back to Pondichery? You must remain there, inquiring regarding all that goes on, and when there is anything of importance, please come to me: if there is nothing, continue where you are." I then took leave of him, and reached Pondichery before half-past 11.

Governor, returning in the evening, asks the news.

This evening, the Governor returned from Ariyânkuppam, immediately sent for me, and asked what news I had. I replied that I had received a letter, written on palm leaf, from our doctor at Porto Novo. He inquired what it was about. I told him that its contents were as follows: "The Dutch and English, acting in concert, are spreading the rumour that a fleet of twenty-five English ships has arrived at Anjengo, and Tellicherry; that eleven more are expected from Bengal; that store-sheds are being erected at Cuddalore; that all the garrison of Pondichery has marched out to encounter the army of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and invest Fort St. David, and, that as there are no soldiers in the fort, it could, if attacked, easily be taken; that even the inhabitants of Pondichery are reported to be on friendly terms with the English; that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân is raising a very strong force, as he is quite determined not to depart without capturing the fort at Madras; and that Maḥfuz Khân is advancing." He said to me: "Well, what

Diarist informs him of the contents of a letter from Porto Novo.

And repeats a series of wild tales told in it.

do they say as to the whereabouts of the army of Maḥfuz Khân?" I told him that it had reached Madurântakam, and that the rumour was that it was moving in this direction. He next inquired whether I had despatched men to Cuddalore. I relied that I had sent some, and had promised them 50 pagodas if they brought me reliable information. On this he said: "You have done well; you may go home."

Chap. XXXVIII — 1746. He states to the Governor where Mahfuz Khan is. Further conversation.

As I was returning from my areca-nut store-house, at 10 at night, M. Courblan, and an East Indian who is the watchman at the Vazhudâvûr gate, came, and said to me: "One of your servants has arrived, and, standing outside the gate, has told us that he brings news from the army. We have come to ask the Governor if we may admit him." I requested them to follow me, and sent word to the Governor, who had retired for the night. Having obtained permission, I entered his apartment, and told him that two of our spies, who were bringing intelligence, had approached the gate, and had informed the sentinel of their errand. He thereupon ordered M. Courblan to let them in, and asked me to remain until they arrived. The watchman accordingly opened the town gate, and brought the two men to the Governor's house. They made the following statement: "The army of Maḥfuz Khân reached Tiruppâppuliyûr last night, and will join that of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân to-morrow morning." When I interpreted this to the Governor, he said: "Send,

Diarist informed that one of his spies waits at the city gate.

The Governor orders the admission of two spies.

They state that Mahfuz Khan has arrived at Tiruppappuliyur.

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Governor directs them to go there, and report what occurs.

at once, two men to accompany these persons, and instruct them to go to the camp of Maḥfuz K͟hân, and report to us whatever transpires there." I detailed two Government peons, and one Venkaiyan, to go with the spies. At 11, the town-gate was opened, and the men were despatched. I then went home.

Tuesday, 27th December 1746, or 16th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, M. Dubois sent for me, and I accordingly proceeded to his house. As I found that he was not at home, I went to the Governor, who asked me whether the men sent to Anwar K͟hân had returned. I replied that they were expected, in the evening. He inquired in what direction the army was moving. I said that it would start from Tiruppâppuliyûr, and marching by way of Vizhuppuram, would join the forces of Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân, which occupied Koṇḍûr Tope, near Fort St. David. He asked me whether the junction would be effected to-day. I replied in the affirmative, on which he remarked: "How could that be? You said that the distance was three leagues; would the army get over this?" I said: "The march would be rather difficult, but owing to fear of attack by you, it would start at ten * Indian hours before dawn, and moving very speedily, would reach its destination." He accepted my suggestion. He then said: "I must capture Cuddalore. What is your advice; shall I

He inquires regarding certain messengers.

Diarist explains the route by which Mahfuz Khan will join M. 'Ali Khan.

Conversation on this subject.

Governor asks diarist's views as to attacking Cuddalore.

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* *I.e.*, four English hours.

make the attempt?" I replied: "Sir, there are at Cuddalore only peons, and no Europeans. At the gate, there are but five East Indians, and one European; in the battery near the seashore there are only two Europeans, ten East Indians, and some peons. You can go there by sea, in a boat, and reach the town by the estuary. As soon as you appear, the 300 Carnatic peons, and the northern man, Malrâjâ, will decamp. You can then seize the town, and afterwards attack Fort St. David." He approved of my plan, and bade me summon M. Paradis. I told him that an idea had struck me, and he asked what it was. I replied: "There is no objection to your attacking Cuddalore; but if the fleet of the enemy surrounds you at sea, and the Muhammadans encompass you on shore, you will be in a critical position. If the attack be made on one side only, there will be no reason to fear the ships: you can face them. So, too, if the Muhammadans attack you only on land, you can, no matter what their strength may be, hold your own against them; but to be assailed on both sides appears to me likely to create a difficulty." He said that I was right. As we were conversing in this manner, M. Paradis joined us, on which the Governor asked me to explain to him all that we had been discussing. I did this, as well as I could. He approved of what I had put forward, and told me that we must have supplies. I submitted that I had them ready. The Governor then said: "He has already

Diarist advises capture, and an advance on Fort St David.

Governor approves, and sends for M. Paradis.

Diarist points out a possible danger in the scheme proposed.

And makes a suggestion.

Governor acquiesces.

M. Paradis arrives, and commends diarist's views.

Conversation as to preparations.

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given me a list of the provisions ; we, therefore, need not concern ourselves about this matter now. How much water is there in the river ?" I replied that it was not less than waist deep, and might, possibly, be two feet more, and added : "Sir, if you had carried out this scheme immediately after the capture of Madras, you would have succeeded very easily ; but M. de la Bourdonnais stood in the way. The result has been that a matter which could then have been disposed of in no time, engages a very large share of our attention, and the enemy is now aided by a strong force of Muhammadans. On the other hand, if you do not set about the capture of Fort St. David, Pondichery will always be exposed to annoyance. If Fort St. David becomes ours, the English will have no harbour in which their ships can lie ; and their power at sea will be unworthy of consideration. This is what strikes me, but I do not know what your views may be." He remarked that my suggestions were reasonable, and then asked M. Paradis for his opinion. M. Paradis said : "It is quite right, Sir ; the plan can be carried out if the Muhammadans retire, or if the English fleet refrains from attacking us." It being high time to take food, they withdrew, and I proceeded home.

Diarist remarks that an attack as soon as Madras fell would have succeeded.

And points out the need for capturing Fort St. David.

Governor coincides, and asks M. Paradis.

Who agrees.

To-night, between 9 and 10, two of our spies arrived, and reported that, at 6 in the evening, Maḥfuz K͟hân had joined the camp of Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân, who went out to receive him ; that when they met, salutes of twenty-one guns were fired from

News of the junction of Mahfuz Khan, with M. 'Ali Khan.

the battery and the fort; that three guns were fired from the camp of Muhammad 'Alî Khân; that the camp of Mahfuz Khân was pitched just behind that of Muhammad 'Alî Khân; that 500 horse were ready for immediate service; that more than 1,000 mounted men were at his disposal; that 1,500 horse, in all, had come with Mahfuz Khân; and that there were 4,000 or 5,000 infantry, 10 or 15 guns, and 400 or 500 rockets. I communicated this news to the Governor, at 10, and then went home.

And particulars of the combined forces.

Friday, 30th December 1746, or 19th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—In the afternoon, I received information that Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân had heard that their army had been thrown into confusion by a sudden attack of the French, under M. Paradis, and had sent spies to ascertain whether this was true; that these men reported that it was not; and that a present of 5 rupees had been given to four of them. At a Council which was attended by MM. Paradis and de la Tour, it was decided that a force, in boats, should attack Cuddalore. Having been asked to collect information, I engaged a man for that purpose, promising to give him an appointment, if he brought me reliable intelligence. He said that he would return with news, by the third watch of the following day, and departed.

Report of a false alarm in the Muhammadan camp.

A force, in boats, to attack Cuddalor.

To-day, I despatched a letter to Arcot, for Husain Sâhib, one to Vakîl Subbaiyan, and another to M. de Kerjean, with which were fifteen books to read, writing paper, and a box of tea.

Diarist sends letters, etc., to Arcot.

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Anwar Khan writes that he will come, if Madras is surrendered to him.

This evening, a letter came from Anwar Khân. My man Manôji, and one of Anwar Khân's named Dêsânji, who had, on a former occasion, received from me a present of Rs. 20 and four yards of broad-cloth, subsequently arrived. The contents of the letter were : "If a father asked his son for anything, would the son refuse it? I have begged of you the fort at Madras, and you neglect my request ; if I come, and am met by a refusal, will that not be a great disgrace to me? If, therefore, you write to me that you will hand over the fort to me, I will come."

Letter from Killedar of Porto Novo.

I informed the Governor of this. Shaikh Adam, the Killedar of Porto Novo, sent a letter to me by one Vêlâyuda Pillai, wherein he said that if his request did not meet with success, the bearer must not be detained.

Diarist reports contents of this to the Governor.

I reported to the Governor the contents of this, and mentioned what Vêlâyuda Pillai had told me personally. I procured for him a letter from the Governor, and, informing him that a full reply would be found in it, sent him away, accompanied by a Company's peon.

A reply is sent.

Saturday, 31st December 1746, or 20th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor sent for me, and in the presence of MM. de la Tour and Paradis, questioned me closely regarding Cuddalore, and the route thither.

Governor questions diarist regarding Cuddalore.

He desired me to send with M. de la Tour the two men who, some time ago, had collected information regarding the geography of Cuddalore, the rivers, batteries, etc. In compliance with his instructions, I despatched them, as also

Men acquainted with that place, etc., sent with M. de la Tour.

Company's peon Uddandi. I gave 3 pagodas to the three, and promised them 25 more.

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The Governor then bade me write a reply to Anwar Khân, in the following terms: "I was much pleased with your letter. It is true that a son should give what his father asks of him, but I am extremely sorry that I cannot comply with your request, without the permission of our King. I may not remove the flag hoisted on the fort: if I did so, my head would be cut off. If this misfortune befell me, would it not be the same as if it had overtaken your own son, and would it be agreeable to you? I will write to the King touching what you ask, and will endeavour to meet your wishes." He introduced friendly expressions of this sort into the letter; and, in addition, sent for Anwar Khân's man Dêsânji, explained the matter to him in very kind terms, and asked me to do so also. He pointed out to him, too, that what with famine and want of rain on one side, and war on the other, the country was being laid waste, and the inhabitants were distressed. Further, as requested by Anwar Khân, I bought a clock from M. de Bausset, for a hundred pagodas, and forwarded it to him. On my own account, I wrote a polite letter to him, and sent Manôji and a Government peon, with the bearer.

Governor orders a reply to Anwar Khan.

This regrets inability to meet his request.

But promises writing to the King, on the subject,

Governor explains matters to the messenger.

Diarist forwards a clock to Anwar Khan.

This evening, twenty boats, bound for Cuddalore, took their departure, and headed for the Ariyânkuppam river. It was arranged that the Europeans occupying Ariyânkuppam should embark on these,

Expedition against Cuddalore sets out.

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and proceed to Cuddalore. The only delay is on account of the absence of the messenger sent to bring intelligence, whose return is awaited by the Governor.

Jar of filth thrown into a temple, from enclosure of church of St. Paul.

It was reported to-night, at 7, that an earthen jar, filled with filth, was thrown from within the grounds of the church of St. Paul, into the temple of Vêdapuri Îswaran. It very nearly fell on the head of Sankara Aiyan, who was at the shrine of the god Piḷḷaiyâr, on his way round the temple, in the performance of religious duties. When the jar struck the ground, and broke to pieces, the stench emitted was unbearable. This matter was represented to me by ten men, including the following heads of castes, namely, Tillai Mudali, Peddu Cheṭṭi, Ârumugattân Mudali, and Âṇḍanâyaga Piḷḷai. On my reporting the matter to the Governor, he sent for MM. Le Maire and Desmarêts, and Tânappa Mudali, who all arrived, at half-past 9. He deputed them to inspect the place, in company with M. Paradis. Before they set out, Madame Dupleix sent for M. Paradis, and M. Le Maire, and advised them. I cannot imagine what false report they will make at her instigation, and what action the Governor will take on it. Her nature is too well known. It remains to be seen how the Governor will acquit himself in the affair. I will write touching this, when I know the result.

Complaint made to the Governor, through diarist.

Certain persons deputed, to hold inquiry.

Interference of Mme. Dupleix.

Speculations of diarist, as to the result of this

When MM. Paradis, Le Maire, and Desmarêts, accompanied by Tânappa Mudali, approached the temple, Malaikkozhundan's son, Varlâm, who was

standing there, in company with some Pariah lads, told them, in French, to enter the temple. M. Le Maire, who heard this, reproved him, and asked him why he had come, and what business he had there. Varlâm said that he would go away, and accordingly departed. The gentlemen then entered the temple, smelt the broken jar, pronounced that it had contained filth, and judging by the position of the scattered fragments, arrived at the decision that it must have been thrown from the church, and that there could be no mistake on that point. M. Paradis proposed that this should be reported to the Governor, on which M. Le Maire suggested that the priests should be consulted. In reply, M. Paradis said that he had no authority to do this, but M. Le Maire averred that he had. All of them then went to the church, and rang the bell, by pulling the cord to which it is attached. On hearing the sound, the senior priest, Father Cœurdoux, came out, and opening the door, asked the business that had brought them there. They then explained what had taken place. They remarked that, from the position of the pieces of the broken jar, and an examination of the ground about the temple and church, there could be no doubt that the direction from which the jar came was that of the latter. They also noticed that the stones at the base of the temple wall on the side of the church had all been pulled down. When those holding the investigation urged that this was not right, the priest exclaimed: "It was

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Impertinence of one Varlam.

Committee decides that the jar was thrown from the church.

It is suggested to consult the priests.

The senior of these told of the conclusion arrived at.

The committee notices damage done to the temple wall.

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The priest imputes this to the temple authorities, themselves.

Reply of the committee.

not our doing. They, themselves, must have dug them out, with the view of lodging a complaint, and getting the wall, which is in a ruinous state, restored." They replied: "Everybody is aware of your intrigues. The perpetration of acts such as these, gives cause for much discord and wrangling."

The report made by it

The persons deputed to hold the enquiry then repaired to the Governor, and reported to him that the complaint made was true, and that the priests of the church of St. Paul were responsible. Thereupon, he desired them to commit this to paper, and exclaimed: "I will not only write to France regarding this affair, but will also take such action with respect to it, that the priests of the church of St. Paul will ever remember it." They talked for about two Indian hours on the doings, in the town, of the priests and then dispersed; the Governor going to bed. Tânappa Mudali and I returned home, at 11 o'clock.

What the Governor said, on hearing this.

Diarist wishes M. Barneval a happy new year.

Sunday, 1st January 1747, or 21st Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This being New Year's day, I went to visit M. Barneval. He said to me: "You wish me a happy new year, a happy festival day, and much prosperity; but, owing to the capture of Madras, I have lost everything." I replied to him: "Sir, what does it signify to merchants whether Madras, or any other city, be taken?" He said that the intention of the Governor, M Dupleix, was to make Pondichery a city like Madras, but that that would never come to pass, because at Madras each

His reply.

Remark thereon of diarist.

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merchant was an influential gentleman, equal in rank to our Governor. He added that, last night, some filth had been thrown into the Hindu temple, and that justice would be done to the merchants only if the culprits—be they missionaries, or others—were detected, and adequately punished. I thought it wise not to talk any further on this subject, and turned the conversation to the news from Europe, and various other topics; and after having paid my respects to his wife, also, I was about to depart, when a man came, and said that the Governor wanted me.

M. Barneval refers to the outrage on the temple.

Diarist turns the conversation.

Is summoned by the Governor.

As soon as I presented myself before him, he said to me: "You know that, last night, we despatched 100 soldiers and Mahé sepoys to Cuddalore, with M. de la Tour and Shaikh Hasan. I have received a letter stating that they set out from Vîrâmpattanam last night, at half-past 7; that three of the boats leaked, thus wetting the powder and muskets; and that the party then landed, abandoned the expedition, and reached Ariyânkuppam, by 10." I replied that I had just received similar intelligence. He asked me whether the man who went to Cuddalore had returned. I replied that he had not. He then said: "You know that he promised to be here by yesterday afternoon; as he has not yet arrived, could he have been captured!" I answered: "I do not know; there is no news whatever" On this he seemed to be considering something or other.

Who tells him that the expedition to Cuddalore has returned.

He replies that he had just heard of this.

Conversation regarding the spy sent to Cuddalore.

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Diarist wishes the Governor a happy new year.

I exclaimed: "Sir, may this be a happy new year; a happy festival for you! Last year you met with success everywhere; you earned, all through the country, a reputation which has extended even as far as Delhi. Through you, the whole of your family has gained a great name. The rumour is that should even such a warrior as the Emperor is, go to war with you, he would only be defeated. I trust that during this year you may have a hundred fold more success than in the past. God will, indeed, bring this about." He said to me: "You see, Rangappa, how He favours me. At the very mention of my name, the Muhammadans begin to tremble." On this, I set to work to compliment him still more, and told him, for an Indian hour, how people were extolling his fame and valour. If I were to put into writing all that I said in commendation of him, it would occupy ten or fifteen pages. After I had flattered him in these very extravagant terms, he told me that, with the view of making the people of the church of St. Paul smart for the wrong that they had done, he would consult with the members of the Council, and take measures accordingly. I said to him: "Sir, if you do not take the necessary action to punish the evil done, the good name which you have acquired will be tarnished. Besides, you have invited all the merchants of Madras to Pondichery, and have a mind to make it a rich city, like Madras. If you take steps such as those you mention, you will obtain help in the direction at which you aim, and the

And makes a flattering speech.

To which the Governor replies.

Diarist continues his flatteries.

Intentions of the Governor as regards the priests.

Remarks of diarist on hearing them.

merchants will have confidence in you. Is there anything that escapes you? I only say what occurs to me." He replied: "What you say is correct: the people of the church of St. Paul are mischievous. Seeing that they have done so many things to annoy me, can there be any doubt they will do much more to irritate others? I know it full well. I shall take measures to make them regret their conduct, for ever, and also to do justice to other people." All this conversation took place this afternoon. I record it here, with our conversation in the morning.

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What the Governor says touching the priests.

We then went to the church, and every token of respect was, as usual, shown to us. But whenever I visited the priests, it was customary with them to embrace me, praise me, and show me all manner of respect. Attentions of this description were, however, not shown to me on this occasion, the reason being that they thought it was I who had brought the matter of the filth being thrown into the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple, on the previous night, to the notice of the Governor, and had caused him to send the Councillors, to inquire regarding it. It seemed to me that this was what led them to fail in their usual kindness to me. But it was not I who specially brought this deed to the Governor's knowledge. He took notice of it, only on the complaint made to him by the heads of castes, and I merely interpreted to him. I did not make the charge, myself. But if the priests thought so, how could I help it. Besides, the Governor is not in the habit of acting

Diarist and he visit the church.

Priests behave coldly to the former.

The reason for this.

Diarist's comments.

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on other people's opinions, and this was known to every body. If, being aware of this, the priests bear me malice, what can I do? We next went to the mission church, and from there I let Tânappa Mudali go home, and returned to my house.

Governor pays new year's visits.

The Governor went to wish a happy new year to the Europeans; and, when he left the house of M. de la Touche, I presented myself before him, and said thatI had brought the man who had arrived with news from Cuddalore. He asked me why he did not return on the previous day. I replied: "When disturbances are going on, it is not a very easy task to enter an enemy's town, and gather intelligence. He had to remain hidden; now in one place, now in another, and get information, and this took a day." "It is well," he observed, "it is enough that he did not fall into the enemy's hands; please bring him to me, to-night." When, in accordance with this order, I waited on him again, he said: "What news has he from Cuddalore." I replied: "Sir, the information which we had some time ago, regarding Cuddalore, was not incorrect. We were told that the peons and Malrâjâ had been transferred from there, to Manjakuppam, and that the guns in the batteries at Cuddalore, as also those on the bank of the river, had been spiked. This man now makes a similar report, and says that if you go there, you can easily take possession of the town." He replied: "Well; this is the news of the day before yesterday; it may be that of yesterday morning. Last night,

Diarist reports the return of the spy.

Governor directs that he be brought, in the evening.

He asks the news from Cuddalore.

Diarist reports its defenceless condition.

And that the capture of it would be easy.

Remarks of the Governor.

our men from Ariyânkuppam started, in boats, from Vîrâmpaṭṭaṇam, and as two or three boats leaked, they turned back. It is just possible that the people at Cuddalore, having heard of this, may have placed soldiers and guns in ambush. What do you say to this? Send your men to procure information regarding the matter." I directed the man to go again. He said that he would, the day after to-morrow, bring news, and departed. The Governor then asked me if any news had been received regarding the forces of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân and Maḥfuz Khân, and the watch kept by them during the hours of darkness. I told him that the entire camp remained awake all night, and that the horses, with saddles . . . . *

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He directs that further information be obtained.

And then asks the news of the Muhammadans.

The reply made by diarist.

Wednesday, 4th January 1747, or 24th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—At 8 this morning, just before I went to the Governor, I heard the following news: The local Muhammadan commander, named . . . *, together with Shaikh Ḥasan, and 'Abd-ul Raḥmân, two brothers who are Jemadars of the Mahé sepoys, had an interview with Gôvinda Rao, through Kâsikânsu Sing, and they are jointly collecting troops, and preparing to attack Pondichery. Some ten days ago, at the bidding of the Governor, I sent word to Periya Aiyâ, son of the Poligar of Veṭṭavalam, as follows: "You must raid and burn in the Muhammadan country, and attack and destroy their troops: we

News that troops are being collected to attack Pondichery.

Diarist incites Periya Aiya to harry the Muhammadans.

* Blank in the original.

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He sends a letter agreeing to do so.

will, for this purpose, help you with the necessary men and supplies." Periya Aiyâ agreed to this proposal, and sent a Brâhman, and a monegar of his, with a polite letter. When I reported to the Governor the arrival of these men, and told him of the letter which they had brought, he said: "Let them lay the country waste." I informed the men of this order.

Diarist goes to ask the Governor to see the bearers of this.

They, however, desired to see the Governor, and speak to him in person. I accordingly promised to introduce them, and asked them to wait. As the front gate of the Governor's house was not opened until 11 o'clock, I went in by the back way, and had an interview with him.

A trooper from Anwar Khan stated to be coming.

Just then, a man of Anwar Khân's, and one of the Company's peons arrived, and told me that a trooper from the master of the former was on his way. I intimated this to the Governor, who wrote a letter to the gate-keeper saying that the man might be admitted, by the Vazhudâvûr gate. He

Governor orders diarist to take him to his house, and report what he says.

further said to me: "When the messenger arrives, take him to your house, let no one have speech with him, listen to whatever he has to say, report it to me, and bring him here at 9 to-night." I replied that I would do so. I then despatched native captain Sândappan, and a Company's peon, to receive the messenger. They accordingly brought him. I asked

The man delivers a message from Anwar Khan.

him his news. He said: "Anwar Khân directed me to go to you, and told me to say that, as desired by you, he was willing to send a respectable man, but in the meantime, at Madras . . . *

* Incomplete in the original.

Thursday, 5th January 1747, or 25th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—The messenger from Anwar Khân took leave of the Governor last night, at 11, and was with me this morning, as was also a revenue officer of Anwar Khân's, who arrived here some three days ago. I sent both of them off, accompanied by my man, Manôji, and a Government peon. I then went to see the Governor. He was unwell, and as he was not dressed, his doors were shut. I went to my areca-nut store-house, and caused the following letter to be written to Asad-ullah Ṣâḥib, in Persian: "You are demanding of my servants taxes in respect of Vannippêṭ, near Arcot. Are you justified in doing this? Have I ever taken a lease from you, or have I, at any time, paid rent to you? It is Muttu Venkaṭapati Reḍḍi to whom I am directly responsible. I took no lease from you. Bâpu Rao can vouch for this; as can the Reḍḍi mentioned above." I had this letter sealed, and despatched it by Âṇḍiyappan. A Telugu copy of it has also been kept for record.

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What diarist writes to Asad-ullah Sahib.

. . . * .

This being the day appointed for visit of the mahânâṭṭârs †, to the Governor, I gave instructions that all of them should attend, at 4 in the afternoon. Meanwhile, the Governor sent for me, and asked if I had any news of the army. I said: "I have. The whole of the enemy's horsemen have mutinied, owing

He arranges a visit of mahanattars, to the Governor.

* There is an incomplete sentence here, the sense of which cannot be ascertained, as most of the words have disappeared in the original.

† Heads of castes.

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He gives the Governor news of the enemy.

to non-receipt of their pay; Mahfuz Khân is still undecided; Muhammad 'Alî Khân is bent on making peace, and departing; 600 or 700 horsemen are patrolling, day and night, for a distance of over 5 miles from their camp; the leaders, such as Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Mahfuz Khân, 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, Anwar Khân, and Perumukkal Miyân Sahib, have had no sleep, and, owing to lack of courage, have abandoned the camp; the troops are filled with the idea that at any moment the French may fall upon them, and the state of alarm in which they are baffles description. The English visit them, now and then, and telling them that their ships are hourly expected, ask them to wait for a while. You know that, during the last war, the English paid them 3,000 pagodas; they now, too, have paid them a like amount. They tell the Muhammadans that, as they have come so far, it would be a disgrace to them, if they retreated; that great enmity has arisen between them and the French, owing to the latter having made their appearance; and that they could not foretell what would befall them in the future. These are the rumours now current in the army, and I believe that they are genuine." The Governor said: "This may be true." I replied: "It must be so. We obtained the same information from so many sources, that I do not doubt the truth of it."

And dwells on the fears which fill them.

He mentions, also, the efforts of the English, to induce them to remain.

Conversation as to the truth of these reports.

The Governor then asked me when the mahânâṭṭârs would be coming. I said: "They will

probably arrive at half-past 4 or 5 in the afternoon" I added: "Sir, you will remember, in connection with Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, that the Killedar of Porto Novo wrote to us that he wished to come here, and we asked him to do so. But he never came, and the reason why he did not is this. It seems that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân is displeased with us for, in spite of his utmost endeavours to get the management of our affairs into his own hands, transacting them through Anwar Khân, and he mentioned this to the Killedar of Porto Novo, who asked Vêlâynda Pillai to write all this to us, which he has accordingly done." The Governor desired me to intimate to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân that in future all our negotiations would be carried on through him alone, and not through Anwar Khân. I did this. At 4 in the afternoon, I waited on the Governor, and presented Sungu Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi to him. At half-past 4, the mahânâṭṭârs arrived. I introduced them to the Governor. The latter knew beforehand that they would certainly raise the question of the temple, and he therefore had asked me not to let them do so. I accordingly spoke privately to three or four of the mahânâṭṭârs, and also to Aruṇâchala Cheṭṭi, requesting them not to enter upon it. In spite of my advice, they began to do so. The Governor, therefore, rose up, addressed a few kind words to them, and went into his wife's room.

At 8 at night, the following intelligence was communicated to me by Periya Pillai, who had been

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Diarist refers to the failure of the Killedar of Porto Novo to pay a promised visit.

And explains the reason.

What the Governor wrote to M'Ali Khan.

The mahanattars visit the Governor.

Result of their speaking of the outrage in the temple.

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News that the Nawab has bidden his sons to cease hostilities, and return.

sent by Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib. Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân wrote to his two sons, Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, that the whole country was ruined, owing to failure of rain. He therefore bade them come to some terms, break up their camps, and return to Arcot. Having received these instructions, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân is determined upon making peace. Miyân Ṣâḥib's accountant, Periya Piḷḷai, further informed me that he was instructed by his master to state that he was present when this decision was arrived at. I conveyed the news to the Governor. He was pleased at it, and said to me: "Good; let us see how it will all turn out. Please send 200 mangoes * to the Nawâb, and 100 pagodas to Gulâb Sing." I said to him that I would make these ready, and despatch them the next day, and then came away.

M'Ali Khan said to have decided to comply.

Governor pleased.

Friday, 6th January 1747, or 26th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—To-day was the festival of the Epiphany. On this occasion, it was observed with more solemnity than usual. One peculiar feature of it was that when the three kings entered the church door, a line of sepoys was formed, and drums were beaten. The second was that Madame Dupleix presented a waxen image to the church, this morning. The Governor and his wife went there, in order to witness the ceremony. There were no other innovations than those mentioned above.

Celebration of the Epiphany.

Innovations on the occasion.

* January is not the season for mangoes, but a particular, but indifferent, variety of this fruit, much liked by natives, is to be had then.

To-day, 200 mangoes were despatched to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, with a polite note from the Governor. Without the knowledge of Madanânda Pandit, a letter, with 100 pagodas, was sent, in my name, to Gulâb Sing. These were forwarded through my clerks, so that Vakîl Subbaiyan, against whom there is an unfavourable report, might not be aware of it. The Governor then sent for me, and asked if I had any news. I replied that I had none. He then said: "Last night, our European soldiers entered the enemy's camp, and examined it. They say that they could have burnt it in a very short time; but, as they had not my permission to do so, they came away." I observed: "Sir; it would not be right to do this, as they are treating for peace." The Governor remarked that as they had behaved reasonably to us, we, also, must treat them with consideration. I rejoined: "Sir, as you act justly, God grants you success, and, as they behave inequitably, they meet with failure." Just then, M. Paradis arrived, and I took leave of them.

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Governor tells diarist that French soldiers had entered the enemy's camp by night.

Conversation on the subject.

Saturday, 7th January 1747, or 27th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, my servant, Manôji, and Company's peon, Mangân, came from the Muhammadan camp with a letter sent by Anwar Khân. The contents of this were: "I have received your letter, and the information sent verbally through my mounted messenger. It, however, does not appear to me that peace can be concluded at once: to do so would require about four days. I could then

Manoji brings reply from Anwar Khan.

This states that it is not possible to conclude peace, at once.

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arrange matters in accordance with your wishes. But I have a great regard for your good-will. You must act in such a way as to promote my friendship. I have sent you further details through Manôji; and from him you may learn my views." I communicated all this to the Governor. He thereupon said to me: "What particulars has he sent through the messenger?" I questioned the man, and this was his reply: "Anwar Khân desired me to give you his compliments. He is anxious to settle matters at once, but Maḥfuz Khân and 'Abd-ul Jalîl, are not inclined to do so. If you would wait patiently for four days more, he could, by that time, bring them to your way of thinking: meanwhile, he wishes you not to send him any letter. Ever since the time that he formed a friendship with you, he has been saying that he is but one of your servants." The man added some more polite words. I interpreted all this to the Governor. He asked me what report had been made by the messenger who went from here. I replied: "He informed me that he had communicated to Anwar Khân all that we had bidden him say, and had pointed out to him that if he entered on a war with us, he would never succeed; on which he told him to go. After his departure, Anwar Khân wrote, in consultation with Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, 'Abd-ul-Jalîl, and Maḥfuz Khân, the letter which you have received." After this conversation was at an end, I communicated to the Governor the tidings

And that Manoji will give further details.

The statement made by this man.

Diarist informs the Governor what his messenger reported.

And explains why the letter was written.

brought by Sâmâ Rao, the Treasury Officer of Chandâ Ṣâḥib; the news from Arcot as received by Taqî Ṣâḥib, through his Vakîl there; the contents of a letter from Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to his father, in which he set out particulars of the contest with the French, and what took place between him and them; and the fact that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân forwarded copies of this to all Killedars, including Taqî Ḥusain, who has transmitted one to his son 'Alî Naqî. I read to the Governor a copy of the order regarding Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, sent to the Tahsildars, by the Niẓâm. All these papers are in Telugu, and reference can be made to them.

Diarist then imparts to him news of various kinds.

And reads a copy of an order issued by the Nizam.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FROM JANUARY 8TH, 1747, TO JANUARY 22ND, 1747.

Message from Periya Aiyâ—Expresses his readiness to attack the Muhammadans—And asks assistance, and protection, for his family—Ammunition sent—Governor consents to accede, secretly, to Periya Aiyâ's request—A present to the Poligar is suggested, and given—Arrangements to facilitate co-operation with Periya Aiyâ—Another man given a present, and instigated to make raids—The orders issued, by Mr. Hinde, to certain merchants—Amount finally due by them to the Company—Difficulty with regard to adjustment of it—Consequences of this—M. Dupleix asks diarist what the motive of Mr. Hinde's action was—He suggests possible expectation of the arrival of English men-of-war—And goes into the question of these being the fleet of Mr. Peyton—Or ships from England—He deals with the possibility of this being the case—And next suggests the possibility of sales of cloths to the Dutch—Or of the English desiring Fort St. David to be empty, if taken—Or of their wishing to borrow on their goods—Governor directs him to ascertain which is the correct cause—Remarks of diarist on receiving this order—Governor asks the news of the enemy—Diarist replies that they are in a state of constant alarm—And further mentions the loans, etc., made by Mr. Hinde—Governor says that he is unaware how affairs stand, at Arcot—Diarist tells him what Anwar-ud-dîn Khân wrote to his sons—Conversation as to why they had not returned to Arcot—Governor speaks to diarist regarding a Reḍḍi whose arrest he had averted—He offers excuses—Governor says that he is always ready with reasons—Diarist's further excuse—The Governor will not admit this—And directs him to have the man captured—Diarist goes to see M. Desmarêts—Who says that M. Dupleix has destroyed the treaty ransoming Madras—Speaks of the possible result of a complaint by M. de la Bourdonnais—Gives reasons why the treaty may not be cancelled—And expresses the belief that the recall of M. Dupleix is likely—A litter, the property of the church of St. Paul, used to carry a wounded soldier—And left near a certain house—Parasurâma Piḷḷai questioned by one Prakâsan denies all knowledge of it—Prakâsan then reports to his priest—Who writes a complaint to the Governor—This states that the litter has been befouled, etc.—Governor sends for him and certain officials—And holds a personal inquiry—Parasurâman makes a statement—Governor directs the officials to make personal inquiry—They find that there are no marks of ill usage—The priest, being asked for proof, says that the dirt has dried—Comments of the officials, on his assertion—They make their report—Governor charges the priest with falsehood—

And refers him to the Council—The priest desires to drop the complaint—Governor refuses to allow this—What T. Mudali is alleged to have told the priests, regarding diarist—They repeat it to other Europeans, who question him—Diarist repudiates it, as utterly false—M. Lenoir reports a rumour of the capture of M. Paradis, and siege of Pondichery—Bearer of the letter says that English ships are anchored off Pulicat—Governor confirms this—The complaint made by M. Bouteville—The orders thereon—News of the failure of an expedition, to attack the Muhammadan camp—The cause of this—Mrs. Morse requests the return of certain money—Repayment ordered—Ships sighted—Governor and diarist converse as to the place from which they come—Diarist concurs with certain remarks of the Governor—Dutch ships anchor in the roads—The commanding officer reports that M. Dordelin arrived, at Acheen—And had sailed in pursuit of some English ships—Governor directs diarist to make this public—The squadron of M. Dordelin reaches Madras—Governor sends for diarist, and tells him this—They agree that it will be a great blow to the enemy—Governor gives diarist oranges, to be sent to the Muhammadan camp—He despatches part there—And the remainder to Arcot—Amaldâr of Porto Novo sends letters to the Governor, and diarist—Governor directs that he be invited to come—Diarist hears that valuable English property is on board a Danish ship—He reports this to the Governor—Who refuses to take action—And tells him what the French squadron did off Pulicat—Subsequent conversation—Arrival of one of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron—Another sloop following—This captured, as being English, but found to be Dutch—Amaldâr of Porto Novo writes that he is coming—Arrives at the choultry and informs diarist—The arrangements for receiving him—He remains, for the night, at the choultry—Next morning, diarist brings him into the town—And reports this to the Governor—Who instructs him to ascertain the amaldâr's views—Governor sends for diarist, and converses with him—He brings the amaldâr, to visit the Governor—And they have a long conversation—News of the release of the French prisoners—They arrive at Pondichery—History of another European, who accompanies them—M. Tavakkal and V. Subbaiyan come with them—Former of these exchanges courtesies with the Governor—Who defers discussing business—M. Tavakkal presents a letter from the Nawâb—Purport of this—Governor bids diarist ascertain the Nawâb's views—This he adroitly does—Governor sends him to offer a bribe to M. Tavakkal—Rs. 20,000 are demanded—M. Tavakkal details the state of affairs—And promises, a satisfactory settlement, if his demand is accepted—Diarist evades a definite reply—M. Tavakkal objects—Diarist contrives to get away, and reports to the Governor—Conversation as to the offer to be made—Governor decides the amount—Diarist tenders this to M. Tavakkal—Who accepts it with delight—He states what he will write to Ḥusain Ṭâhir, and Sampâti Rao—Diarist urges him to do this, at once—

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Further conversation between them—After some polite remarks, diarist departs—And reports to the Governor—Who decides to send away the amaldâr—And directs diarist to arrange for presents to be given to him, and M. 'Alî Khân—List of presents to be sent to M. 'Alî Khân—And of those to be given to the amaldâr—Governor asks diarist whether certain proposals may be made to M. 'Alî Khân—He replies in the affirmative, and offers a suggestion—Governor approves and summons M. Delarche—He says that he is unable to write Persian—Governor directs that the letter be written confidentially—This done—Governor sends for Shaikh Ahmad, and tells him why he did so—Then hands him the letter, etc., for M. 'Alî Khân, with instructions—He receives the letter and presents—The directions given to Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai, by the Governor—Diarist invites him to his house—And entertains him with music, etc.

Message from Periya Aiya.

Sunday, 8th January 1747, or 28th Mârgazhi of Akshaya.—This morning, messengers came from Periya Aiyâ, the Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam, and this is the news that they brought from him: "If you desire it, I am ready to storm the camp of your enemies, and to bring you their heads; or to force the troops of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and Maḥfuz Khân, to retire to Arcot. In this case, you must give shelter, in Pondichery, to my wife and children, and must provide for their maintenance and other expenses; and I shall also expect some assistance from you in carrying out the undertaking." This news was communicated to the Governor yesterday, and 2,000 cartridges, and a permit allowing him to pass the city gate, were given to the messenger. To-day, I took the monegar who came from Vêṭṭavalam, and one Venkaṭâchala Aiyan of Toṇḍamânattam, to the Governor, and bade them tell him all that they had to relate. I interpreted their statements to him, and he then said: "Very well; I will give you any help that you may require, but must

Expresses his readiness to attack the Muhammadans.

And asks assistance, and protection for his family.

Ammunition sent.

Governor consents to accede secretly, to Periya Aiya's request.

do so secretly. It should not be made public. Your wives and children may come to live here, but should enter the town without any one being aware of it." They agreed to this. The messengers then said that some present ought to be sent to the Poligar, and the Governor asked me of what it should consist. I replied that he might give a gun, a pair of pistols, and a roll of broad-cloth. I sent word to M. Cornet for these articles, and he forwarded a double-barrelled gun, as he had no single-barrelled ones. This weapon was despatched to the Poligar. Toṇḍamânattam Venkaṭâchala Aiyan was also sent to bring word as to when he would attack the camp of the Moghuls, as the French would, at the same time, bring up their troops, and attack them. The messengers then took leave of us, and departed. We also sent 1,500 cartridges, and 75 pagodas, to Âlattûr Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan, and requested him, in the name of the Governor, to pillage the country. The men bearing the cartridges and money, likewise started to-day.

A present to the Poligar is suggested, and given.

Arrangements to facilitate co-operation with Periya Aiya.

Another man given a present, and instigated to make raids.

The following news was received, to-day. As soon as Madras was captured, Mr. Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David, to whom Âṇḍiyappa Mudali and other merchants of the English Company owed cloths, and a sum of 30,000 pagodas, in connection with their annual contract for supply of cloths, summoned them, and said as follows: "Let the cloths already made up into bales remain. Remove,

The orders issued, by Mr. Hinde to certain merchants.

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into the interior, those at the washing depot, and also the unbleached ones, and keep them there. We will see about them afterwards." Later on, in the month of Kârttigai [November], he procured all the half-bleached cloths, and baled them up. Thus the merchants then owed to the Company only the unbleached cloths and 30,000 rupees, of which the Governor was subsequently repaid Rs. 10,000 by the son of Âṇḍiyappa Mudali, on his stating that the amount was required for expenses. When he afterwards demanded payment of the balance, the merchants represented that they had piece-goods which they were willing to sell for that sum. This was the state of affairs until about four or five days ago, when they were called upon, not only to bring the unbleached cloths removed from the town, but also to supply goods for the Rs. 20,000 still due by them. Consequently, brokers at Pâlaiyûr, Paṭṭâmpâkkam, and Chennamanâyakkanpâḷaiyam, have despatched to Cuddalore 300 scores, worth that amount, which, together with 100 already in stock, are being dyed red in the store-house of Tambu Mudali. Besides this, it is said that a fresh supply of 100 scores has been manufactured.

Amount finally due by them to the Company.

Difficulty with regard to adjustment of it.

Consequences of this.

This information was furnished by Krishṇaiyan, the brother-in-law of Râmalinga Aiyan, who had been to Chennamanâyakkanpâḷaiyam. When I mentioned it, in the evening, to M. Dupleix, he asked me with what motive the Governor of Fort St. David was procuring unbleached cloths in such

M. Dupleix asks diarist what the motive of Mr. Hinde's action was.

quantities. I replied: "It must be for one or other of the following reasons:

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"The Governor probably expects some ships of war. In regard to this, the following contingencies should be taken into consideration. You have received a written communication to the effect that Mr. Peyton, who is in command of the fleet of ships of war now at Calcutta, has no intention of coming hither, for some of his crew have deserted, some have been killed or wounded in battle, whilst others are ill, and consequently those fit and available for service, are quite insufficient to fight an engagement. This seems not unreasonable. Again, although he is aware of the capture of Madras, he knows that ships cannot anchor in the roads here in the months of Kârttigai and Mârgazhi [November and December] and he therefore refrains from attempting an expedition against Madras just now. He is therefore not likely to attack it, unless he receives a fresh reinforcement. It is therefore out of the question that the squadron now at Calcutta could come here. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that the ships forming it left England four years ago, and having, since then, touched nowhere, must consequently have become more or less unseaworthy. Now, to turn to the anticipations as to ships from England. Even if it should be a fact that any are coming, they would, in ordinary course, make straight for Madras, the capture of which could not be known to those on board. It is, of course, possible

He suggests possible expectation of the arrival of English men-of-war.

And goes into the question of these being the fleet of Mr. Peyton.

Or ships from England.

He deals with the possibility of this being the case.

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that they might put in at Tellicherry, or Point de Galle, where they may have been warned by the Dutch of what has occurred; nay, it is even possible that, during the voyage, they have already learnt it. In this case, they would have touched at either of these ports, and given intimation of their arrival. This might account for the English at Cuddalore having changed their minds, in regard to the goods.

And next suggests the possibility of sales of cloths to the Dutch.

"Secondly, it is just possible that the English, being in urgent need of money, have sold the cloths to the Dutch.

Or of the English desiring Fort St. David to be empty, if taken.

"Thirdly, the following contingency is, also, quite possible. The English may have thought within themselves: 'How long would the Muhammadans be likely to stand by us? We see not prospect of ships arriving to our assistance. On the other hand, our enemies are bent on capturing the fort, which, although we cannot yield it without resistance, will have to be surrendered when we find ourselves no longer able to hold out. We will, therefore, take care that it is empty.' Influenced by considerations of this nature they probably intend conveying the goods elsewhere, on the plea that they have been sold to the Ducth, or to some merchants.

Or of their wishing to borrow on their goods.

"It is also possible that they may wish to borrow money, on the security of them.

"The action of the English must be imputed to one or other of the reasons which I have mentioned, and should not be regarded as being without any ulterior object."

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On this, the Governor exclaimed: "Yes; I understand. It must be due to one of the causes that you have brought forward; it has to be shown which of them it is." I replied: "How can we know this now? Time, alone, can reveal it." He rejoined: "You had better depute suitable men to ascertain, carefully, what it is, and let me know." I thereupon said: "It is to be much regretted that inquiries have not already been instituted. We depend upon these goods to meet the charges which will be incurred in capturing Fort St. David. If they are removed, what of any value will be left? If the Company is not put to any expense in the matter, your scheme will be successful. You will thereby acquire world-wide renown, and the Company, as well as the King, will be pleased with you. Your action will highly commend itself to the former, when it realises that it has had a remunerative result." . . . .*

Governor directs him to ascertain which is the correct cause.

Remarks of diarist on receiving this order.

Tuesday, 10th January 1747, or 1st Tai of Akshaya, New Moon, Constellation Pûrâḍam, Pongal Feast.— When I repaired to the Governor's house, this morning, he beckoned me to him, and inquired whether I had received any news regarding the enemy. I replied: "All through the night, they are in a state of great alarm, do not sleep a wink, and keep their horses always saddled—all on account of constant rumours of 'here come the French;

Governor asks news of the enemy.

Diarist replies that they are in a constant state of alarm.

* Incomplete in the original.

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there come the French.' Some 500 or 600 of their horsemen patrol about to the west and south of Azhisapâkkam, at a distance of about three miles from the village. The Governor of Fort St. David has given some presents to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. On one occasion, he lent them 3,000 pagodas, and on a second, another 3,000. He is holding out hopes of the arrival of English ships, has promised to give larger presents then, and tells them that, when so reinforced, he will attack Pondichery. It is thus that the English are beguiling them with false hopes and promises."

Governor says that he is unaware how affairs stand, at Arcot.

The Governor then said that he was in the dark as to the state of affairs at Arcot. I told him that Maḥfuz Khân, and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, had received a letter from Arcot, to the following effect:

Diarist tells him what Anwar-ud-din Khan wrote to his sons.

"The people are distracted, in consequence of the prevalence of famine. Owing to want of rain, the growing crops, throughout the province, have dried up, and there is no sign of the taxes being collected. The demands of the Niẓâm for money are pressing. Large arrears are outstanding against you. You had better return: I, myself, will advance on Pondichery, and take such action as may be necessary."

Conversation as to why they had not returned to Arcot.

He then asked me why they had not departed, in accordance with this letter. I replied: "Apparently in consequence of the hopes held out by the English." He agreed.

The Governor then said: "It is alleged that Sivanâga Reḍḍi holds a very conspicuous position

in the enemy's camp, and does much mischief. Did I not tell you, some time ago, that he should be arrested? You pleaded that he lived near this, and was one who sought our favour. You said that 'Abd-ul-Jalîl had written to you praying that his village should not be surrounded and burnt. You were instrumental in letting the Reḍḍi escape. See how he behaves now."

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Governor speaks to diarist regarding a Reddi, whose arrest, he had averted.

I replied: "As he is the renter and headman of lands which are subject to Muhammadan rule, how can he help obeying his master, when he sits by his side, and bids him?"

He offers excuses.

As I was thus pleading on his behalf, the Governor exclaimed: "You are always ready to assign reasons. That Reḍḍi is one of the many who have been asked by the enemy to afford assistance. Why have not the others acted as he has?" I answered: "Their villages are all at a distance, and those of the Reḍḍi lie close to Pondichery."

Governor says he is always ready with reasons.

Diarist's further excuse.

To this, the Governor retorted: "If he really cared for our favour, he should, though remaining with the enemy, have behaved so as not to prejudice our interests. He helps the English, in whose town our adversaries have now taken up their quarters. Well; I shall not forget this. So long as the French have any hold on this country, he shall not escape being brought before me. You must, somehow, find means to apprehend him."

The overnor will not admit this.

And directs him to have the man captured.

I replied: "Very well; I will try."

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Diarist goes to see M. Desmarets.

Who says that M. Dupleix has destroyed the treaty ransoming Madras.

Speaks of the possible result of a complaint by M. de la Bourdonnais.

Gives reasons why no one may cancel the treaty.

For the last two or three days, M. Desmarêts has been sending for me, but I had no time to visit him. Before going to the Governor this morning, however, I waited on him, and, in the course of conversation, he said to me: "You know that M. Dupleix has, on the ground that it was not valid, torn up and destroyed the agreement executed by M. de la Bourdonnais, which ransomed Madras to the English for 11 lakhs of pagodas. Should M. de la Bourdonnais lodge a complaint in France against M. Dupleix, the latter might get into trouble, for the French Minister appointed M. de la Bourdonnais to be the leader in this war, and has empowered him to seize the ships, settlements, and troops, of the English. Such powers having been conferred on him, no one can reject any agreement, or contract, signed and approved by him. Besides, he has not put his own name to the agreement; but has signed "By order of the King," and has executed it in favour of Mr. Morse, the representative of the English King. Inasmuch, therefore, as the names of the French and English kings are mentioned therein, it would not affect M. de la Bourdonnais. As the matter concerns the two sovereigns, every one must accept the agreement, if it has been signed by the representative of the King. If there is any flaw in it, the defect must be brought to the notice of His Majesty, who will punish the person concerned; but no one can cancel it. The command of the King is that no transaction made in his name, and on his behalf,

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should be rescinded without his knowledge; and it cannot be set at naught. Whether the representative does right, or wrong, everything must be put before the Government, and no proceedings of his can be rejected here. But as this has been done in the case of the settlement made by M. de la Bourdonnais, he will complain to the authorities in France, and if he does, it seems likely that M. Dupleix will be recalled. I am sure that this is what will happen."

And expresses the belief that the recall of M. Dupleix is likely.

In the church of St. Paul, at Ariyânkuppam, there is a litter for carrying corpses, and, some two or three days ago, a wounded soldier was placed in this, and sent here. After leaving him at the hospital, the bearers set the litter down near Arumpâtai Pillai's house, and went away. It seems that on it there is the emblem of a cross. When walking in that direction, one Prakâsan, who is employed in the church of St. Paul, found it on the road, and noticing that it was the property of the church—the litter for carrying the dead being different from that for wounded persons—he went to Chinna Parasurâma Pillai, and said to him: "How did you get this litter? It seems to be that belonging to our church." He replied: "I know nothing about the matter; it appears that some coolies who brought a wounded soldier in it, left it where it is, and went away. I will pay the hire. You can take it away." Prakâsan then went off, and reported what had occurred to the priest Cœurdoux, who wrote a petition to the Governor, wherein he stated that a litter belonging

A litter, the property of the church of St. Paul, used to carry a wounded soldier.

And left near a certain house.

Parasurama Pillai, questioned by one Prakasan, denies all knowledge of it.

Prakasan then reports to his priest.

Who writes a complaint to the Governor.

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This states that the litter has been befouled, etc.

to Ariyânkuppam, which was used for carrying corpses, and bore the sign of the cross, had been thrown down in the street near the house of Arumpâtai, was covered with filth, and injured by stones that had been cast at it. When the Governor read the petition, he sent for the Registrar M. Desmarêts, M. Le Maire, the King's Proctor, M. Miran, and the priest Cœurdoux, and he despatched a man to bring the litter, and Chinna Parasurâma Piḷḷai. When this man came, the Governor asked him all about the matter. Parasurâman told a story exactly the same as that recorded above. The Governor asked him why he had not sent it away, then and there. Parasurâman replied: "Sir, I am a business man. I have thousand things to attend to, and I do not know how it came to be near my house. One of the priests' men told me that there was a litter there, which looked like theirs. I replied: 'I know nothing about it. It seems that some bearers who brought a wounded man in it, left it where it is and went away. I will get some coolies; you had better remove it.' The man agreed, and went away; but he never returned." These were the words in which Parasurâman told the whole story. On this, the Governor said to M. Le Maire, the King's Proctor, the Registrar, and M. Miran: "Please go and inquire, in the presence of the priest, if any filth was actually cast on the litter, or if stones were thrown at it; and ascertain, also, what occurred, from the time that it was taken from the officers'

Governor sends for him and certain officials.

And holds a personal inquiry.

Parasuraman makes a statement.

Governor directs the officials to make personal inquiry.

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church at Ariyânkuppam, and the wounded man was placed in it, and sent here, up to the present; and let me have a correct report on every point." Then all the four above-mentioned gentlemen went to the place where the litter was, called a carpenter, and ordered him to examine it, in view to determining whether it had been struck by stones, and whether dirt had been cast on it. It was then found that there were no marks of either of these on it. On this, they sent for the chief priest of the church of St. Paul, and said to him: "Look here; in your petition, you wrote that stones and dirt had been thrown on your litter. If you have any proof of this, please let us see it." The priest replied: "The dirt has dried, and consequently no traces of it are to be seen." The gentlemen exclaimed: "How can you tell such a falsehood? Was not the mark of the dirt thrown by you on the Hindu temple perceptible, even after it had dried up? Had stones been thrown, would not the marks be distinctly visible? How can people in your position tell such lies? You create all manner of feuds, and prevent people from settling here." Having thus spoken to the priest, they all departed, and reported the matter to the Governor, who sent for the chief priest, and told him that he had written an untruth in his petition. The priest replied, as stated above, that the dirt having dried, no marks of it were discernible. The Governor retorted: "How can a man in your station in life tell such falsehoods?

They find that there are no marks of ill usage.

The priest, being asked for proof, says that the dirt has dried.

Comments of the officials on his assertion.

They make their report.

Governor charges the priest with falsehood.

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And refers him to the Council.

Owing tothe mischief done by you and your colleagues, the townspeople are leaving this, and will not remain here. You had better put your complaint into writing, and submit it to the Council."

The priest desires to drop the complaint.

On this, the priest rejoined: "The matter is not one worth placing before the Council. The men who reported the matter to me made the allegation; I believed it, and wrote the petition. I, myself, do not know how far all this is true."

Governor refuses to allow this.

But the Governor said: "This is all very well, but the matter cannot be hushed up in this way. It must be brought before the Council." This news was given to me by M. Desmarêts. Much more took place, but I record only the important points. If I were to write down every particular, there would be no end to it.

What T. Mudali is alleged to have told the priests, regarding diarist.

In addition to what he related to me, M. Desmarêts said that Tânappa Mudali had told the priests of the church of St. Paul that the reason why the Muhammadan troops did not leave the place was that I was in league with them, and did not interest myself in the affairs of the French; that Fort St. David could have been captured by this time, but for my machinations; and that I was the author of all the difficulties. M. Desmarêts told me that all these allegations were made to the priests of the church of St. Paul, by Chinna Mudali Lazar; and by them, to him.

They repeat it to other Europeans, who question him.

The priests also spoke about these matters to some other Europeans, who asked what had occurred, informing me, at the

same time, that they had been told by the priests, to whom the allegations had been made by Lazar. I replied: "This never occurred. It is an absolute fabrication on the part of the people of the church of St. Paul." I put the matter to them, in the true light, and they approved of my explanation.

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Wednesday, 11th January 1747, or 2nd Tai of Akshaya.—To-day, M. Lenoir sent, by a peon, a letter from Masulipatam. It was folded in the Muhammadan fashion, and the address was written in Telugu, in these words, 'To Karidi Buchanna, at Porto Novo.' He said in it that he had heard that M. Paradis had been made a prisoner, and that the Muhammadans were besieging Pondichery. The messenger stated that seven ships were anchored opposite to Mulvala Ravaṇaiyan's choultry, north of Pulicat; that they were English, and from Calcutta; that the commander of the squadron was Mr. Peyton; and that one of the ships brought news to Pulicat, delivered some letters which were subsequently despatched to Fort St. David, and then put to sea again. I reported all these matters to the Governor. He said: "This is true: two or three days ago, I heard that one or two sail were seen off Madras, and they are probably English."

M. Lenoir reports a rumour of the capture of M. Paradis, and siege of Pondichery.

Bearer of the letter says that English ships are anchored off Pulicat.

Governor confirms this.

M. Bouteville reported to the Governor that Rangappan, the accountant who had made himself responsible for Rs. 200 in the affair of M. Bertram, now refused to pay the same; and requested that he might receive it from the money belonging to

Complaint made by M. Bouteville.

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M. Bertram, which had been lodged in the registry office. The Governor sent for me, and asked about the matter, and I explained it. He then directed that the Acheen areca-nuts under attachment, in the warehouse of M. Bertram, should be delivered to M. Bouteville. At 11, the Governor went to a dinner party given by M. Auger, at the garden house of M. de Bausset.

News of failure of an expedition to attack the Muhammadan camp.

Last night, I received news that a party of 400 peons had advanced as far as Marikrishnâpuram, and then returned to Azhisapâkkam. It marched, in two divisions, by different routes, to attack the Muhammadan camp. One of these reached the boundary hedge, which was the point at which they were to meet, but not being joined in proper time by the other, returned without making any attack. This was owing to a dispute between M. Chengeac and another officer who accompanied the force.

The cause of this.

This morning, the Governor told me that he had received a letter from Madras stating that four English ships, and a sloop, had been seen in the offing there.

Mrs. Morse requests the return of certain money.

Mrs. Morse sent word to the Governor, through Madame Dupleix, asking that the money stolen from Lakshmaṇan, the dubâsh of Mr. Morse, might be returned to him. The Governor requested me to see that it was paid to him, through a third party. I told him that although Lakshmaṇan lost only 27 pagodas, he claimed 100. The Governor said: "You manage all my affairs; why then do you

Repayment ordered.

ask my opinion? Do what you think proper." I replied that I would settle the matter in one way or other.

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Friday, 13th January 1747, or 4th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, ships were sighted approaching from the north. The Governor sent for me, and said: "I do not know if these hail from Tranquebar, or Acheen; or are the Dutch vessels which, after touching here in October last, sailed for Acheen, and were expected to arrive again in the month of Tai [January-February], on their return to Mocha." I told him they were the last of these. He said that if news was received that the three ships under M. Dordelin, and the two belonging to the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais, had reached Acheen, one might expect that they would come on here; but if otherwise, the conclusion must be that M. de la Bourdonnais had taken them all away with him. I said that he was right.

Ships sighted.

Governor and diarist converse as to the place from which they come.

Diarist concurs with certain remarks of the Governor.

At noon, to-day, the Dutch ships reached the roads, and having anchored, fired nine guns, which were returned by a like number from the shore. As soon as the officer in command landed, he visited the Governor, and reported that the three men-of-war under M. Dordelin, and the two of the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais—five in all—had reached Acheen, and that, eight days before his departure from that place, the French squadron received intelligence that two or three English ships were cruising in the neighbourhood, and had gone in pursuit of them.

Dutch ships anchor in the roads.

The commanding officer reports that M. Dordelin arrived at Acheen.

And had sailed in pursuit of some English ships.

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The Governor then sent for me, and said: "With reference to our conversation this morning, the Dutch commander has just been telling me that our five ships arrived at Acheen, and that eight days before he sailed thence, some English vessels were seen in the neighbourhood, and our squadron started in chase of them. In two or three days more, therefore, we shall see our ships here. As this good news concerns every one, please go, and announce it to the people." I cannot describe how pleased, and happy, the Governor was.

Governor directs diarist to make this public.

At 8 to-night, the following news was received from Madras: "The three ships under M. Dordelin, and one of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron, anchored in the roads at Madras, on Wednesday the 2nd [11th] instant." The Governor at once sent for me, and said: "Rangappa; we have good news. Our four ships, with a Dutch sloop which they captured, have reached Madras. When the English, Maḥfuz Khân, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and their troops, hear of this, how will they like it?" I replied: "It will be a thunder stroke to them; their troops will not remain here much longer; they will discover that the English have cheated them by saying that their fleet would arrive in a fortnight, and that they would then give them money. I think there will be a serious misunderstanding between them." The Governor said that he was quite of my opinion. We then conversed, as usual, on general topics, and I went home at 10.

The squadron of M. Dordelin reaches Madras.

Governor sends for diarist and tells him this.

They agre that it will be a great blow to the enemy.

Saturday, 14th January 1747, or 5th Tai of Akshaya.—To-day, at noon, the Governor sent for me. I went to him, and he gave me some oranges brought from Acheen, by the Dutch, and asked me to send them to the Muhammadan camp. I took them all, and went to my areca-nut store-house, where I got some baskets, and packed eighty in each.

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Governor gives diarist oranges to be sent to the Muhammadan camp.

I forwarded these, with polite letters, to Maḥfuz Khân, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and Anwar Khân. Manôji was charged to take them to Koṇḍûr Tope, where they were encamped. In addition to this, I despatched to Arcot a hundred and twenty oranges for His Highness Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, eighty for Sampâti Rao, and eighty for Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, sending, at the same time, a letter to each.

He despatches part there.

And the remainder to Arcot.

At 8, Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai came from Porto Novo, and brought letters from the amaldâr of that place, to the Governor, and me. I read to the Governor that addressed to him. Having listened to it, he requested me to write an answer at once, asking the amaldâr to come, and see him in person, and bidding him tobe under no apprehensions. I wrote in accordance with his orders, gave the letter to Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai, and sent him off, at 10 o'clock.

Amaldar of Porto Novo sends letters to the Governor, and diarist.

Governor directs that he be invited to come.

To-day, the doctor * consigned to Mocha 25 bales containing 100 scores of pieces of long-cloth, of $9\frac{1}{4}$ yds. each. During the night, a Muhammadan

* It cannot be ascertained to whom this refe

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Diarist hears that valuable English property is on board a Danish ship.

peon who had accompanied M. Miran, and had returned in the vessel from Acheen, reported to me that an English captain, one Mr. Boyer, had put between 100 and 150 candies of frankincense, some goods which had arrived from Acheen, and from 150 to 200 bars of gold, on board the ship bound for Tranquebar, and that she would be in this neighbourhood in two or three days' time. I communicated the news to the Governor. He said: "The Governor of Tranquebar is our friend; he has helped us on several occasions. It is therefore not proper for us to make a prisoner of an Englishman travelling on a Danish craft, or to seize his goods. You know that four men-of-war of ours have arrived off Madras. When the English ships which were in the roads at Pulicat saw ours, they made off, but there was a Dutch sloop, which our squadron seized." I told him that I had heard, from Madras, that it belonged to the English. The Governor replied: "Your correspondents give you incorrect information; please write to them not to do so in future." It was this Captain Boyer who commanded the sloop which arrived in Arppisi [October] last, and which . . . *

He reports this to the Governor.

Who refuses to take action.

And tells him what the French squadron did off Pulicat.

Subsequent conversation.

Sunday, 15th January 1747, or 6th Tai of Akshaya.

Arrival of one of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron.

A ship arrived to-day, at noon, and anchored. She fired thirteen guns, which were replied to by a like number from the fort. She is named the *St. Louis*, and belongs to the squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais.

* Incomplete in the original. There is no previous mention of this matter.

Her former Captain, M. Benoit, did not sail with her, but remained here, and one M. St. Dechoaux, who took his place, brought her to Pondichery. Another sloop is following, and has on board some goods, and twenty-five garce of paddy consigned from Bimlipatam, to the Paymaster at Negapatam. She brings, also, a letter to the Governor of Pulicat, advising him to dispose of the paddy where it can be sold at a profit. When the sloop was off Pulicat, a French ship seized her, alleging that she was English, but when she was brought to Madras, and examined, it was found that she was Dutch, and she was sent hither, along with other craft bound to this port. When the *St. Louis* arrived, the Governor wrote to the Governor at Negapatam, asking him if the sloop belonged to him. I do not know what he will do when the reply arrives.

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Another sloop following.

This captured, as being English, but found to be Dutch.

Monday, 16th January 1747, or 7th Tai of Akshaya.—To-day, I had a letter from Shaikh Ahmad, the amaldâr of Porto Novo, saying that he was coming here. I reported this to the Governor. He told me to write to the amaldâr, asking him to do as he proposed, and to take the road by Arumpâtai Pillai's choultry. I did as instructed. He accordingly came, halted at the choultry, and, in the evening, sent word to me of his arrival. I gave intimation of this to the Governor, who desired me to take twenty Company's peons, and some Europeans such as M. St. Martin, and M. . . . *, and

Amaldar of Porto Novo writes that he is coming.

Arrives at the choultry, and informs diarist.

* Blank in the original.

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The arrangements for receiving him.

receive the amaldâr, with all due attentions. He asked me if guns ought to be fired on his arrival. I replied: "As the amaldâr is a respectable man, a salute should be accorded, when he reaches the town-gate." He wanted to know the number of guns, and I said that it should be seven. He sent for the master gunner, and ordered him to fire a salute as arranged, and he then asked me to go out, and meet the amaldâr. I took leave, and reached my areca-nut store-house, at 8. The amaldâr remained, for the night, at Arumpâtai Pillai's choultry. I decided that I could go there on the following morning.

He remains for the night at the choultry.

Tuesday, 17th January 1747, or 8th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning at 8, I sent word to the amaldâr of Porto Novo, that I was coming to meet him. As ordered by the Governor, on the previous day, I set out at 9 in the morning, with M. St. Martin, M. . . *, a native captain, and twenty or thirty peons. By that time, the amaldâr had started, and had reached my garden-house. We went there, and halted. After conversing with him for a while, we left together, and when we entered the town through the Villiyanallûr gate, seven guns were fired. I provided accommodation for the amaldâr in the garden-house of M. Dumas, and leaving him there, made my report to the Governor. He said: "Please go and stay with him, ascertain his views, and let me know what they are." In accordance with these instructions, I remained with the amaldâr, and

Next morning, diarist brings him into the town.

And reports this to the Governor.

Who instructs him to ascertain the amaldar's views.

* Blank in the original.

when his opinions became known to me, I gave him suitable replies. Whilst I was dealing with him in this fashion, a man came, and said that the Governor wanted me. I obeyed the summons, had a conversation with him, and then, going home, dined, went to my areca-nut godown, and rested there for two Indian hours. At the end of that time, I again presented myself before the Governor, and informed him that the amaldâr was coming to visit him. Then I returned to the amaldâr, and took him in the evening, to the Governor. During the visit, M. Dupleix, Shaikh Ahmad, and I, conversed for a long while. Shaikh Ahmad told the Governor that he would relate to me all his misfortunes; the latter said that he was welcome to do so. After this, the amaldâr took leave, and returned to his residence.

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He brings the amaldâr, to visit the Governor.

And they have a long conversation.

Wednesday, 18th January 1747, or 9th Tai of Akshaya.—The following is what occurred here today. News arrived that the Nawâb had released the Europeans, MM. Schonomille and . . . *, who had been taken prisoners by the Muhammadans, during the recent fighting at Madras, and had sent them with a letter from himself, and another from Husain Ṭâhir Khân, and that they had reached Tindivanam.

News of the release of the French prisoners.

Thursday, 19th January 1747, or 10th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, at 9, M. Schonomille, M. de Kerjean, and M. Gosse, who, last night, halted at

They arrive at Pondichery.

* Blank in the original, but apparently, (see *infra*), should have been MM. de Kerjean and Gosse.

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History of another European who accompanies them.

Tindivanam arrived here. Another European was with them. This man had been sending intelligence regarding the English, to the Governor of Pondichery, and when French soldiers, sailors, and a few officials, were in the hands of the English, he was in the habit of letting them escape, two or three at a time. Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, having come to know of this, caused him to be publicly flogged, and put in jail. But when the fort of Madras fell into the hands of the French, not only did they release him, but they made him an officer. When M. de Kerjean and the others left, he accompanied them; and when they were made prisoners, he, also, was captured. They now all came with Shaikh Muḥammad Tavakkal and Vakîl Subbaiyan. The Europeans embraced M. de Kerjean. The Governor and his wife also did the same, and were very pleased. Muḥammad Tavakkal had an interview with the Governor, who desired him to take a seat, and inquired regarding the welfare of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Ḥusain Ṣâhib, and others. In return, he expressed the hope that the Governor was prospering. The Governor then said to him: "You probably feel weary now: go, and take some rest; we will discuss matters to-morrow at our leisure." He delivered the letter brought by him from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, to the Governor, who handed it to me with the request that I would interpret the contents. The purport of it was: "I have received the mangoes sent by you, and am obliged for

M. Tavakkal and Subbaiyan come with them.

Former of these exchanges courtesies with the Governor.

Who defers discussing business.

M. Tavakkal presents a letter from the Nawab.

Purport of this.

them. If you evacuate Madras, all well and good: if not, please send back to me the four Europeans." I explained the letter to the Governor, and he said: "Go; talk to Muhammad Tavakkal, and ascertain exactly what the views of the Nawâb are." Muhammad Tavakkal then went home, and I, to my areca-nut godown.

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Governor bids diarist ascertain the Nawâb's views.

To-night at 8, I went to Sunguvâr's store-house, where Muhammad Tavakkal is accommodated, and chatted with him, until 10. After a conversation on general topics, we came to the point, and having ascertained his views, I gave him answers which cast all the blame on the Muhammadans, and were in such terms that he could not avoid remaining silent. He was pleased with my reasoning, and praised me. I took leave of him, went to Irusappa Muttu Chetti's house, offered him my good wishes on the occasion of the Pongal feast, and reached home at half-past 11.

This he adroitly does.

Sunday, 22nd January 1747, or 13th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor summoned me, and said: "Go to Muhammad Tavakkal, and tell him that you will remunerate him handsomely; promise what you consider fit, and try to bring him to our way of thinking." Thereupon, I went to Muhammad Tavakkal, drew him into conversation, and then said: "Kindly let me know what your desires are and I will arrange with the Governor to satisfy them." He replied: "If you give me 20,000 rupees, I will settle everything to his satisfaction. The orders of

Governor sends him to offer a bribe to M. Tavakkal.

Rs. 20,000. are demanded.

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M. Tavakkal details the state of affairs.

the Nizâm are that the Nawâb should return. The latter is overwhelmed with debts, and being thoroughly wearied, he wishes to make peace with you, and depart. Besides, he has dismissed Bapôji Nâyakkan, who formerly collected the tribute of the Carnatic, and has appointed in his room one Sadâsiva Rao, a Mahratta, who is the son of Simanâji Rao, the younger brother of Bhâji Rao. Bâpôji Nâyakkan is preparing to collect men in order to attack the Nawâb, who is alarmed at this. I will therefore dispose of matters in a way which will please you. You have given me your reasons. I will add my own, and put them in such a way as will cause the Nawâb to entertain no more ill-feeling towards you. In short, I will settle all difficulties, to your entire satisfaction; but you must comply with my demand."

And promises satisfactory settlement, if his demand is accepted.

Diarist evades a definite reply.

After hearing his views, I told him that I had then no time to give him a distinct answer, as the Governor required my attendance. I was about to start, when he stopped me, and said: "You merely take my opinion, and do not express your own. At this rate, how can we come to any agreement. If you will open your heart to me, then, and then alone, I shall be satisfied." I replied: "I have no objection to do so. Two of the Governor's peons are however waiting for me, so please accept my excuses. I shall return, in no time." I hastened to the Governor, told him all that I had heard from Muhammad Tavakkal, and inquired what he had to say to it. He asked me what I thought best under the circumstances. I replied: "You know

M. Tavakkal objects.

Diarist contrives to get away, and reports to the Governor.

that he wants 20,000 rupees; that is, 6,000 pagodas. I think it desirable to give him 4,000." The Governor said that that was too much. I rejoined: "We can reduce the amount to be paid to the Muhammadans,* and give the money to this man, because it is through him, alone, that our difficulties can be removed." "That is true," he exclaimed. "We will give him 10,000 rupees in cash, and goods for Rs. 2,800. Settle it with him in that way, and then ask him to write such letters to Ḥusain Ṣâhib and the Nawâb, as will suit our plans." I went to Muḥammad Tavakkal, and told him that we would give him 10,000 rupees in cash, and Rs. 2,800 in the shape of goods. When I said this, he was overwhelmed with joy, as though he had found something which no mortal could attain, and exclaimed: "You are my priest: I will not gainsay your words. I will act in accordance with what you propose." It is impossible to describe, in writing, all the polite expressions of which he made use. He then told me that he would address letters to Ḥusain Ṭâhir, and Sampâti Rao, in the following terms: "The Governor of Pondichery does not seem to be willing to pay anything to the Nawâb, unless he asks for it. He is bent on war. As he is aware that the Mahrattas are coming to attack you, and that the Nizâm has ordered you to return with your troops, he does not appear to be inclined to pay you any money."

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Conversation as to the offer to be made.

Governor decides the amount.

Diarist tenders this to M. Tavakkal.

Who accepts it with delight.

He states what he will write to Husain Tahir, and Sampati Rao.

* *Sic* in the original. The reference is evidently to the Nawâb, and his sons.

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Diarist urges him to do this at once.

Further conversation between them.

He said that he would add something more that would be to our interest. I told him that he must write these letters then and there, but he said: "Why should you trouble yourself about it? Henceforth, it will be my business. If you only let me have what you have promised, I will settle your business exactly as you wish." I answered: "Have you still any doubts? I will be responsible for what I have promised you. If you desire anything in writing with regard to this, I will give it to you." He replied: "It will be sufficient if you pledge your word." I agreed to do this. He then promised to settle matters for us within eight days, and said: "You may tell this to the Governor. I will arrange things to your satisfaction. You may henceforth reckon on me as one entirely at your disposal. Hereafter, you may take your rest." I remarked: "What you have said is very little, and what you are about to accomplish is a great deal. May God help you in this matter." Having spoken to him in polite language of this description, I took leave, and personally reported to the Governor what had occurred. Having listened to me, he said: "Has he written letters, as instructed by you?" I replied: "He is just doing so, and will despatch them shortly." The Governor then continued: "Well; you told me that Shaikh Aḥmad, the amaldâr of Porto Novo, was returning home, and you stated also that Muḥammad Tavakkal wanted you to send him away. We will now send him off, at 4 this afternoon. Ask him

After some polite remarks, diarist departs.

And reports to the Governor.

Who decides to send away the amaldar.

to come here, and make out a list showing the articles that are to be presented to him, and stating the quantities of each. Send this to M. Cornet, and request him to prepare what is entered in it. Tell him, further, to make ready the clock for which Muḥammad 'Alî Khân asked." The goods were accordingly ordered, and made ready; and the following is the list of the articles presented to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and Shaikh Aḥmad:

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1747. And directs diarist, to arrange for presents to be given to him, and M. 'Ali Khan.

Articles sent to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân.

List of presents to be sent to M. 'Ali Khan.

1 chiming clock, bought from Mr. Stratton for 115 star pagodas.
1 mariner's compass.
1 telescope.
1 lens, or burning glass.
3 pairs of spectacles.
1 microscope.
1 round mirror.
—
9 articles in all.
—

Articles presented to Shaikh Aḥmad.

And of those to be given to the amaldar.

3 rolls of red broad-cloth.
44 yards of red velvet.
4 yards of green velvet.
2 Persian carpets.
3 carpets lined with printed broad-cloth.
6 flasks of Hungary water.
6 flasks of Imperial water.
2 pairs of scissors.
2 many bladed knives.
1 mirror.
1 small mirror.

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Governor asks diarist whether certain proposals may be made to M. 'Ali Khan.

All these were made ready, and M. Delarche attended. The Governor then said to me: "Can we write a letter to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to the effect that we will give him the villages attached to Fort St. David and Cuddalore, and that we will reserve Fort St. David, alone, for a while longer; and then, if he so desires, will also make it over to him?" I replied that we could write to him in these terms; but that we might add that the conditions named would hold good, only on the understanding that he and his troops withdrew, and would not give up those places to the English. He approved of my suggestion, and said that a letter to that effect must be written by M. Delarche, and that the Brâhman in charge of preparing the Persian letters should not know of it. I replied: "The plan is a good one, but M. Delarche can only speak and read Persian. He cannot write that language." The Governor said: "Only a few words have to be written; M. Delarche can manage that," and he then sent for him. He came. The Governor gave him the subject, and asked him to write the letter. M. Delarche said that he could not write Persian, but that he would get the Brâhman writer to do what was required, and would strictly warn him not to reveal the secret to any one. The Governor replied: "I gave my instructions to you, as the matter is one which should not be known to any one else. Now get the letter written confidentially." M. Delarche summoned Madanânda Paṇḍit to his house, and

He replies in the affirmative, and offers suggestion.

Governor approves, and summons M. Delarche.

He says that he is unable to write Persian.

Governor directs that the letter be written confidentially

there caused him to write the letter in the terms already stated. It was then brought to the Governor, and sealed. At half-past 5 in the evening, he sent for Ṣhaikh Aḥmad, and said to him: "You wrote to us once that you desired to have this affair settled, through Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and that is the reason why we sent for you. But now, as Muḥammad Tavakkal has come here in the name of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, under the orders of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, you say that this business had better be transacted through him, and that you will go home. But we have no mind to let you go, and we wish to transact our business through you." Ṣhaikh Aḥmad replied in very courteous terms: "I am your dependent; there is no need to speak to me in such flattering terms." The Governor then put into his hand the letter written to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and also the cloths and other presents, as already described, and said to him: "If Muḥammad 'Alî Khân consents to what you are about to tell him, then, and then, only, give him the letter. If he will not assent, send it back to me." Ṣhaikh Aḥmad took the letter and presents, and replied: "I will let you have an answer, in two or three days. Until then, you must not be in a hurry." Then the presents set apart for him were placed in his hands. Two yards of cloth were also given to Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai, who was told by the Governor to make proper inquiries, and let him know the result. Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai received the gift, and promised

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This done.

Governor sends for Shaikh Ahmad, and tells him why he did so.

Then hands him the letter, etc., for M. 'Ali Khan, with instructions.

He receives the letter and presents.

The directions given to Velayuda Pillai, by the Governor.

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to do as he was bid. He further said to the Governor: "Muhammad 'Alî Khân considers that you are a warrior, and a good man, and it is on that account that he courts your friendship. The truth will appear hereafter. All the blame rests on Mahfuz Khân, and your affairs will, therefore, prosper. By 10 to-morrow morning, I shall reach his camp." So saying, he took leave, and retired. I asked him to come to my house, after night-fall. He agreed to do so, and arrived at half-past 8. He remained with me until midnight, and was entertained with music and a nautch. He then made a present of Rs. 30 to the dancing girl, accepted the red and green broad-cloths presented by me, and went home. I also gave two rolls of broad-cloth, and a piece of muslin, to Vêlâyuda Pillai, and Bâlâji Pandit. This is what occurred during the night.

Diarist invites him to his house.

And entertains him with music, etc.

CHAPTER XL.

FROM JANUARY 23RD, 1747, TO FEBRUARY 8TH, 1747.

Diarist asks for honours to a departing amaldâr—Governor orders accordingly—Diarist accompanies the amaldâr beyond the town—And takes leave of him—Governor asks diarist the news from Fort St. David—He says that the Governor there had tidings of ships—And caused these to be repeated at the Muhammadan camps—Governor asks the news of the Muhammadans, and diarist gives this—The Council meets—The cargoes of two homeward bound ships ordered to be landed—And they to join M. Dordelin's squadron, in attacking the English on the West Coast—Why the Governor decided not to send these two ships home—He asks diarist the news of the amaldâr of Porto Novo—The recall of the force at Ariyânkuppam discussed—'Alî Akbar and others, deliver, to M. Dupleix, a letter from Chandâ Ṣâḥib—Who, so they tell him, has heard that the Nizâm proposes to appoint him Nawâb of Arcot—And therefore desires a draft for the money promised to him, by the Governor—The news conveyed to diarist, in a letter from A. Gulâb Sing—He reports this to the Governor—A sloop arrives from Chandernagore—And brings tidings of projected sailings of French and English ships—Conditions of the Nawâb for the recall of Maḥfuz Khân and M. 'Alî Khân—M. Tavakkal tells diarist, who informs the Governor—M. Tavakkal bidden to come next day—He then repeats to the Governor what he had told diarist—States the conditions under which Maḥfuz Khân and M. 'Ali Khân will depart—And begs permission to hoist the Emperor's flag at Fort St. George—Governor asks him when the Muhammadans will depart—Conversation between them—Intimation which M. Tavakkal is desired to convey to the Nawâb—Governor gives diarist the points of a letter to be written to the Governor of Mocha—Discussion as to the withdrawal of troops at Ariyânkuppam—Governor asks diarist if certain letters are ready—His reply—Arrangements for conveying the letters—Governor inquires the news from the camp, and diarist informs him—What he thereupon said—The views on the subject expressed by diarist—Orders regarding a visit by the sons of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, etc., to the squadron—M. Tavakkal invited to join them, but declines—The strikingly effective salute fired—Sorrow of Vâsudêva Aiyan at having to sell betel and tobacco, at certain prices—He makes misrepresentations to the Governor—And thus obtains permission to sell at higher rates—Requests diarist to have these officially proclaimed—Diarist reproaches him—And says that he will inform the Governor—Diarist reports to the

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Governor, who directs publication to be made—And promises to consider matters, hereafter—Return of part of the troops at Ariyânkuppam—This arranged at the request of the Nawâb—Mr. Monson and others embark for Kârikâl—M. Tavakkal brings the Governor a letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—M. Delarche interprets—Questions asked of the Governor, by M. Tavakkal—His reply—Subsequent conversation—Liability to give presents to the Nawâb, etc., denied by the Governor—Further conversation—Governor finally consents to make large gifts—Diarist, Tavakkal, and M. Delarche, retire, to discuss matters—M. Tavakkal objects to the amount proposed—And asks leave to depart, taking the released Europeans—Report made to M. Dupleix, by M. Delarche—Diarist and he, wait on the Governor, who asks the opinion of the former—The advice which he, thereupon, gives—M. Tavakkal instructed to write a letter to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—This to state the terms offered by the Governor—Convey a message, from M. Dupleix, to the Nawâb—Request recall if the terms are not approved—And attribute the proposals made, to the friendship of the Governor—Diarist sends certain letters to France—Governor asks the news of the enemy—Diarist tells him what he has heard—Mentions a report that Nâṣîr Jang is marching against the Mahrattas—And a rumour that Pondichery will be attacked by M. Ali Khân—The conversation that ensues—The views expressed by diarist—The reply of the Governor—Mr. Morse leaves for Europe—The humble character of his departure—The Deputy Governor, alone, present—His family and property, to follow in a sloop—M. Mallâ Reḍḍi requests that V. Nâyakkan may be forbidden to raid—Diarist's reply—M. Reḍḍi thereupon complains to Governor, etc.—And sends the letters through T. Mudali—Diarist makes a report to the Governor—Bearer of the letters imprisoned—Messengers bring letter and presents from Nâṣîr Jang—And halt at diarist's garden-house—He reports this to the Governor—Who directs that they shall be well cared for—The procession to receive the letter and presents—The Governor sets out in state—And is followed by the Deputy Governor and others—He alights at a tent outside the town—The rest of the party goes to bring the messengers—Salute fired when the Governor receives the presents—He then enters a carriage, and the procession returns—The route followed when doing this—Messengers formally received at the Governor's house—M. Dulaurens asks diarist to acquaint him with all that is going on—Diarist, knowing him to be a babbler, considers what to do—And decides to tell him nothing—Why Nâṣîr Jang sent presents—Remarks on the procession—Jayarâm Paṇḍit brings letters, from Raghôji Bhônsla—He delivers one to the Governor, with an offering—Contents of a letter, from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, to M. Tavakkal—Five ships which lay in the roads, sail—These all equipped as men-of-war—Objects of the expedition—6,000 Angrias to be embarked—A sloop sails for Mascareigne soon afterwards.

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Monday, 23rd January 1747, or 14th Tai of Akshaya.—At 10 this morning, I went to the Governor, and said to him : "I have to accompany the amaldâr of Porto Novo, to bid him farewell. Please direct that, when he leaves, seven guns be fired from the Villiyanallûr gate, that the sepoys present arms, and that the drums be beaten." The Governor consented to this, and sent orders accordingly, to the keeper of the gate, and to the master-gunner. I took Nayinâr * with me, and went to the garden-house of M. Dumas, where the Muhammadan was staying. We all left together, and when we arrived at the Villiyanallûr gate, the sepoys presented arms, and seven guns were fired. I accompanied the amaldâr as far as the mound on the other side of Nainiya Pillai's garden, and there took leave of him. I then went to the Governor, and reported what had taken place.

Diarist asks for honours for a departing amaldar.

Governor orders accordingly.

Diarist accompanies the amaldar beyond the town.

And takes leave of him.

Tuesday, 24th January 1747, or 15th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor sent for me, and asked the news regarding Fort St. David and the troops. I said : "You will recollect that I told you, some time ago, that I had heard that the brokers were packing up cloths, and that when they learnt that our squadron had arrived at Madras, they discontinued this. Now I hear that four Malayâlees from Tellicherry and Anjengo brought tidings of

Governor asks diarist the news from Fort St. David.

* Karuttambi Nayinâr, the chief of the peons.

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He says that the Governor there had tidings of ships.

ships, and that thereupon the Governor of Fort St. David presented them with 5 pagodas each; that the men objected to this, saying: 'We were sent with a promise of 100 pagodas, and we therefore came very speedily, and brought news and letters, but you give us only 20 pagodas. How can we accept this?' On this, 20 pagodas more were given to them.

And caused these to be repeated at the Muhammadan camps.

The Governor then took the men to the camps of Mâḥfuz K͟hân, and Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân, and caused them to communicate the news of the ships to them, on which they presented each of them with a turban. The Governor chatted with them for a while, and then took his departure. When he reached the fort, he went to the washing depôt, and ordered some cloths to be dyed blue. The faces of the English, it would seem, brightened, somewhat, after receipt of this news." He asked me what tidings I had regarding the Muhammadan forces. I replied: "I hear no mention of war. All speak of peace. It is said, in the camp, that as Muḥammad Tavakkal came to you in the name of Husain Ṣâḥib, with a view to put an end to hostilities, there will henceforth be no more war, and there will be nothing but peace. There is a talk in the army that, on their way from this, they will march to Vazhudâvûr and Chêtpaṭtu, in view to the settlement of the taxes; and then move on to Bankânûr and Sâlanûr, in order to attack the Mahrattas. I am told that horses are being purchased, and sent, in fifties and hundreds, at a time."

Governor asks the news of the Muhammadans, and diarist gives this.

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Whilst the Governor was listening to me, the members of the Council arrived. They held a meeting which lasted about four Indian hours. The Governor then sent for M. Auger, and ordered him to bring on shore the 400 bales that were on board the two ships about to sail for Europe. When I inquired why this was being done, M. Cornet told me that the Governor had received information, by the mail which arrived here the day before yesterday, that about 6,000 of Angria's men had offered to help M. de Leyrit, the chief of Mahé, if he would take possession of Tellicherry, Anjengo, and other English ports; and that the three sail forming the squadron of M. Dordelin, together with the *St. Louis*, and the *Princesse Marie*, which formerly belonged to the English, were being sent to Mahé for that purpose.

The Council meets.

The cargoes of two homeward bound ships to be landed.

And they to join M. Dordelin's squadron in attacking the English on the West Coast.

I was told that the Governor originally meant to send the two ships home, but changed his mind, for the following reasons. When the squadron of M. Dordelin reached Acheen, he came to hear that, four days before his arrival, two British men-of-war and two sail belonging to the English Company, had left the roads. Consequently, if the two ships start homeward bound, they might possibly encounter these four, and there was the further chance of others of the same nation being on their way hither. It has therefore been settled that the five ships, if they sail at all, should do so together, and that in consequence of the departure of the three men-of-war

Why the Governor decided not to send these two ships home.

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for Europe having been deferred, these two, also, should not go home. A Dutch sloop came from Kârikâl laden with paddy. It was decided that she should be sent to Mascareigne.

He asks diarist the news of the amaldar of Porto Novo.

This afternoon, the Governor inquired if I had any news from Shaikh Ahmad, the amaldâr of Porto Novo. I said that I had none, but that I might

The recall of the force at Ariyankuppam discussed.

receive some to-morrow. He asked whether the force stationed at Ariyânkuppam might be recalled. I said that it would not be desirable to do so. He asked me why. I replied: "It appears that negotiations for peace are in progress. The result, one way or other, will be known in four or five days' time, and, if necessary, you can then direct the return of the men. If you do this now, people will say that you are daily expecting peace." He approved of my advice, and said he would wait for four days more.

'Ali Akbar, and others, deliver, to M. Dupleix, a letter from Chanda Sahib.

At noon to-day, 'Alî Akbar, accompanied by the Sâhib's son, Sâmâ Rao, and others of his followers, paid a visit to the Governor. This 'Alî Akbar, who has come from Chandâ Ṣâhib, reached this, in twenty-two days, from a hill fort known as Poona, thirty miles from Satâra, where his master is under detention. They gave M. Dupleix a letter, sent by Chandâ Ṣâhib, and said to him:

Who, so they tell him, has heard that the Nizam proposes to appoint him Nawab of Arcot.

"Amânat Khân, who is in the service of the Nizâm, wrote to Chandâ Ṣâhib, saying: 'Send your son here. Nawâb Âsaf Jâh, knowing that in the battle at Mylapore, near Madras, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's

men could not withstand the French troops, and fled to Conjeeveram, is very angry with him, and, on this account, he is no longer to hold the government of Arcot. If you will send your son here, the Nawâb will confer it on you.' In accordance with these instructions, Chandâ Ṣâḥib intends to send his son, 'Abid Ṣâḥib, to the Niẓâm. In case Nawâb Âṣaf Jâh objects to this, Sau Bhâji Rao is determined to take command of an army of 30,000 horsemen, with the view of expelling Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and installing Chandâ Ṣâḥib in his place. Chandâ Ṣâḥib wishes you to send, out of the lakh of rupees which you promised him, a draft which will allow of his obtaining on it Rs. 50,000, on reaching Cuddapah, and the balance in cash, so as to enable him to meet expenses at Satâra."

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And therefore desires a draft for the money promised to him, by the Governor.

Friday, 27th January 1747, or 18th Tai of Akshaya.—A letter received by me to-day, from Arcot Gulâb Sing, who is employed under Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, stated that the Niẓâm had issued a circular order to all the Subahdars directing them to proceed, with their elephants and soldiers, to the banks of the Krishṇa; that in obedience to this command, the troops at Arcot were making preparations for setting out on the expedition; and that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had communicated the order to Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. I reported the contents of this letter to the Governor, who was much pleased, and presented the peon who brought it, with Rs. 20. Besides this, he gave

The news conveyed to diarist, in a letter from A. Gulab Sing.

He report this to the Governor.

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Rs. 10 to my peon, who was the bearer of the tidings that Mahfuz Khân had been ordered to repair to the Nawâb's camp. This information was obtained by him in the course of a chat which he had with the messenger who carried the letter to Mahfuz Khân. I conversed with the Governor, for about half an hour, on general topics, and then went away to my areca-nut store-house.

A sloop arrives from Chandernagore.

At 4 this afternoon, a sloop arrived from Chandernagore. The captain is M. Brignon, a nephew of M. de la Bourdonnais. Her cargo consists of rice, sugar, silk, and other articles. The crew brought tidings that four sail were to leave Chandernagore, for Pondichery, in order to assist the French, and that four English ships, now in the Hugly, were also about to leave for this port.

And brings tidings of projected sailings of French and English ships.

Husain Ṭâhir Khân sent a letter, from Arcot, to Muhammad Tavakkal, his resident agent here. It was received to-day, and ran thus: "His Highness Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has informed me, as follows. He will recall Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who are now encamped near Pondichery; and, in return, he expects that the French will issue orders to their soldiers in Madras not to scour the neighbouring villages, plundering and burning them, but to keep within the bounds of the fort; that the French will hoist the Emperor's flag over Fort St. George, and keep it flying there for the space of eight days; and that they will show every honour to Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî

Conditions of the Nawab for the recall of Mahfuz Khan and M. 'Ali Khan.

Khân, who are now encamped to the west of Fort St. David." Husain Sâhib also directed his agent to convey to the Governor the particulars of the letter. Muhammad Tavakkal read it, and communicated the contents to me, and I thereupon went to the Governor, at 8 at night, and informed him of the tidings that has been received. He was rejoiced to hear them, and said: "Well; ask Muhammad Tavakkal to see me to-morrow morning." Having obtained leave to depart, I went home, at 10, and after partaking of supper, proceeded to the house of Krishna Rao, and paid him the compliments usual at the Pongal feast. I remained there for an hour, and then returned home.

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M. Tavakkal bidden to come, next day.

Saturday, 28th January 1747, or 19th Tai of Akshaya.—Muhammad Tavakkal appeared before the Governor this morning, at 10, and told him all that he had related to me respecting the contents of the letter which he received yesterday from Husain Tâhir Khân. He said that Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân would no longer remain encamped in the neighbourhood, but would retire with their troops, and he requested the Governor to prevent his soldiers at Madras from raiding the country, and burning the villages. He added that when gifts had been presented to them, and other tokens of courtesy had been shown, both Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân would depart, and he requested the Governor to allow the flag of the Emperor to be hoisted at Fort St. George, for eight days only.

He then repeats to the Governor what he had told diarist.

States the conditions under which Mahfuz Khan and M. 'Ali Khan will depart.

And begs permission to hoist the Emperor's flag at Fort St. George.

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Governor asks him when the Muhammadans will depart Connection between them.

The Governor asked when it was expected that Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and their followers would retire. Muḥammad Tavakkal replied: "Your soldiers are encamped at Ariyânkuppam. When you recall them, the Muḥammadan troops, too, will be withdrawn." The Governor answered: "I will consider the matter of hoisting the Emperor's flag at Madras, and will let you know my decision. As for withdrawing my men from Ariyânkuppam, I will go there to-morrow morning, and order all the European soldiers to quit it." After bidding good-bye to the Governor, Muḥammad Tavakkal proceeded to his apartments at Sunguvâr's warehouse. But before he retired, the Governor told him to write to the Nawâb intimating to him that the French troops encamped at Ariyânkuppam would, in accordance with his desire, be recalled to-morrow, and that an order was being sent to Madras prohibiting the soldiers from going beyond the limits of the town. He also desired Muḥammad Tavakkal to inform the Nawâb of his readiness to agree to the other conditions, as soon as a reply was received to the second letter addressed by him to the Nawâb. Muḥammad Tavakkal promised to do this, and having told the Governor that the wine he sent him had cheered him much during the night, went to the house at which he was residing.

Intimation which M. Tavakkal is desired to convey, to the Nawab.

The Governor handed to me a letter, written in French, to Kanji Miṭṭâyâ, the Company's

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broker at Mocha, and directed me to have it translated into Guzerâti, by Muri Dâs. I accordingly went to the office of M. Mathieu, and had this done.

Sunday, 29th January 1747, or 20th Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, the Governor told me the points to be mentioned in the letter which was to be written, in Persian, to the Governor of Mocha. I instructed Madanânda Paṇḍit to draft one accordingly. The Governor summoned me again, and said: "Well; we will withdraw our troops from Ariyânkuppam. What is to be done if the Muhammadans will not quit their camp?" I replied: "If we recall our men, as Muḥammad Tavakkal wishes us to do, on the authority of a written communication which he has received from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, who had his instructions from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the Muhammadan troops are bound to retire. If they do not, we can throw the whole blame upon them, and say that we have always abided by the Nawâb's commands, and have even now obeyed them; and then we can take the necessary steps." He admitted the wisdom of what I said.

Governor gives diarist the points of a letter to be written to the Governor of Mocha.

Discussion as to the recall of troops at Ariyankuppam.

At 10, he and his family entered a carriage, and drove to Ariyânkuppam. He returned at half-past 6, in the evening. As soon as he arrived, he sent for me, and asked whether the letters to the Governor of Mocha, and to Kanji Miṭṭâyâ, the Company's broker there, were sealed, and ready for despatch. I replied that that addressed to the Governor had

Governor asks diarist if certain letters are ready.

His reply.

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the seal affixed to it, and had been put into an envelope, but that the letter to the broker had not yet been sealed. I requested him to sign the latter, and after he had done so, I affixed the seal. As Odi Dâs had already embarked on board the Dutch ship bound for Mocha, he directed me to deliver the letters to M. Mathieu, with instructions to take them to Tom Fazel, the Dutch captain, in order that he might hand them, to Odi Dâs, on board.

Arrangements for conveying the letters.

He next asked me whether any news had arrived from the camp. I replied that I had heard that the letter addressed by Anwar-ud-dîn Khân arrived yesterday, and that a reply had been forwarded, by a courier, to Arcot, but that I did not know its contents. The Governor said: "In accordance with your advice, I have directed our men at Ariyânkuppam to return to-morrow. Should not the Muhammadan troops also evacuate the place?" I replied: "Even if they did remain there, no blame will lie with us, as we do not move our men on our own motion, but under the orders of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. The condition which was offered to us was that if we withdrew our troops, those of the Nawâb would also be recalled. We will fulfil this, and if the Muhammadans do the same, it will be well and good. If not, all that we have to do is to write to the Nawâb, reporting to him the conduct of his son, and informing him that we have obeyed his orders, from first to last, and that no blame rests with us. If, on

Governor inquires the news from the camp and diarist informs him.

What he thereupon, said.

The views on this subject expressed by diarist.

receipt of this letter, any body of Muhammadan horse should present itself within our territory, or if the Muhammadans should commit any excesses, we will take the law in our own hands." In these terms, I clearly explained to the Governor my views on the subject. I then told him that the sons of Chandâ Ṣâḥib and Tâqî Ṣâḥib desired permission to visit the ships lying in the roads. He thereupon ordered me to send word to M. Dordelin, who commands the squadron, to receive them with fitting honours; and to M. Auger to place a boat at their disposal, and go with them. I deputed Sâmâ Rao on this errand. The Governor afterwards directed me to send a message to Muḥammad Tavakkal, asking him to accompany the party to the ships. I did so, but he declined, saying that he would visit them by himself. I waited for an opportunity to communicate Muḥammad Tavakkal's reply to the Governor, but finding none, I went to the areca-nut store-house.

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Orders regarding a visit by the sons of Chanda Sahib, etc., to the squadron.

M. Tavakkal invited to join them, but declines.

Monday, 30th January 1747, or 21st Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, Razâ Ṣâḥib the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, and 'Alî Naqî the son of Taqî Ṣâḥib, accompanied by their followers, went on board the men-of-war in the roads, to see them. As they were returning, a salute of fifteen guns was fired in their honour, from each of the four French ships, as well as from that of M. Dordelin. The discharge of the guns being simultaneous, the effect was very striking.

The strikingly effective salute fired.

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Sorrow of Vasudeva Aiyan at having to sell betel and tobacco, at certain prices

It will be remembered that, on the 9th Purattâsi last [21st September 1746], when Madras was captured, Vâsudêva Aiyan, in spite of his entreaties to be permitted to raise the prices of betel leaves and tobacco, was ordered to sell, as he had before, nine betel leaves for one cash, and twelve pollams of tobacco for one fanam. From that day to this, the grief that he endured was such as he might have felt at the death of his wife and children. At least a hundred times, did he beg the Governor to raise the prices of these articles. On various occasions he stopped the supply to the bazaar-men, and instigated those who furnished betel leaves and tobacco, to protest against the low prices. M. Dupleix remained deaf to all his solicitations.

He makes misrepresentations to the Governor.

At half-past 8 to-day, however, the man went to him and represented that because, outside the town, five betel leaves were not procurable for one cash, and ten pollams of tobacco for one fanam, the Company was suffering a heavy loss by obtaining supplies from the country, and selling in the town at the rate of nine betel leaves for one cash, and twelve pollams of tobacco for one fanam, and that the people bought these articles in the town, and sold them in the country to their own profit, and to the loss of the Company.

And thus obtains permission to sell at higher rates.

In this way he made false representations to the Governor, and obtained from him sanction to sell five betel leaves for one cash, and ten pollams of tobacco for one fanam. When he had obtained this, his joy was such as though he had discovered a vast

treasure, or as though his dead wife and children had been restored to life. He felt the delight which one would experience who had lost many lakhs, and had recovered them all. He then came to me, and saying that he had obtained the permission of the Governor to reduce the number of the betel leaves and the quantity of tobacco sold, asked me to proclaim this by beat of tom-tom. I replied: "Your good fortune is indeed great. During one's lifetime, one should gather honour, but you have sought, and have obtained, disgrace. To drink the heart's blood of countless people does not constitute a creditable phase in your life. Well; as soon as the Council adjourns, I will inform the Governor, and have what you ask intimated by beat of tom-tom. You may now depart." I then went to the Governor, and made my representations. He replied: "I understand you. You tell me of the hardship that will be inflicted on the people. But do you not see the loss which results to the Company by the sale in the town, at a low figure, of the articles purchased in the country, at a high price? We will consider the matter at another time. Meanwhile, you may, as requested, order the revised prices to be announced. After saying this, he remained silent for a while, and then bade me find a remedy for the evil.

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Diarist reproaches him.

And says that he will inform the Governor.

Diarist reports to the Governor, who directs publication to be made.

And promises to consider matters, hereafter.

The force which had lain encamped at Ariyânkuppam arrived this day at Pondichery. Fifty European soldiers and fifty of the Company's sepoys were,

Return of part of the troops at Ariyankuppam.

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however, left on the fortifications there, in charge of fourteen guns. The remainder, including M. de la Tour and other officers, and the jemadars, quitted the place. This movement of the troops took place in compliance with the request preferred to the Governor by Muḥammad Tavakkal, who had written instructions from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to make it.

This arranged at the request of the Nawab.

M. Braville, M. Lasse, and Mr. Monson the English Deputy Governor of Madras, embarked this evening, with their luggage, on board a sloop bound for Kârikâl. Their destination is Europe, and they intend to take ship again from Tranquebar.

Mr. Monson and others embark for Karikal.

At half-past 4 in the afternoon, Muḥammad Tavakkal came to the Governor, with a letter which he had received from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. M. Delarche and I were present. Muḥammad Tavakkal spoke in Persian to M. Delarche, who interpreted it. What the Governor said in French was conveyed in Persian to Muḥammad Tavakkal. The conversation was to the following effect. It was opened by Muḥammad Tavakkal, who said: "Ḥusain Ṣâḥib writes to me to ascertain, and inform him, what gifts you propose presenting to the Nawâb, and whether you will allow the Emperor's flag to fly over Fort St. George, for eight days. What do you say to these two questions?" The Governor replied: "We agree to keep the flag flying over the fort. We intend making suitable presents to the Nawâb, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and

M. Tavakkal brings the Governor a letter from Husain Sahib.

M. Delarche interprets.

Questions asked of the Governor, by M. Tavakkal.

His reply.

Anwar Khân, according to their rank. As promised by Rangappan, you, too, will receive a gift." I remarked: "A present will be given to Sampâti Rao, also." "He should take precedence of me in receiving one," interposed Muhammad Tavakkal. The Governor assented to this. Thereupon, Muhammad Tavakkal said: "Is Mahfuz Khân to receive one?" "He will not," quoth the Governor. Muhammad Tavakkal replied: "In truth, he is a perfidious man, and it serves him right. Now you must tell me what the value of the presents which you propose to give is." The Governor exclaimed: "We are not bound to give any presents to the Nawâb and his followers;" and then turning to me he added, "Rangappa; tell him why." I did so. Muhammad Tavakkal was convinced, and said: "On the very day that I came here, Rangappan mentioned this reason to me, and I felt convinced that no blame rests with you, and that all the fault lies with the Muhammadans. But as you now, voluntarily, propose to give presents, I shall be obliged if you will tell me their value, for I have to communicate this to Husain Sâhib." The Governor replied: "There is no need for us to make you gifts. But, nevertheless, for friendship's sake, we will give you presents to the aggregate value of about thirty or forty thousand rupees." "I will consider over the matter," said Muhammad Tavakkal, "and intimate my reply to Rangappan, at his storehouse." The Governor thereupon directed me and M. Delarche,

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Subsequent conversation.

Liability to give presents to the Nawab, etc., denied by the Governor.

Further conversation.

Governor finally consents to make large gifts.

Diarist, M. Tavakkal, and M. Delarche, retire, to discuss matters.

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to accompany Muḥammad Tavakkal. We accordingly went to my store-house, and sat down to converse. M. Delarche asked Muḥammad Tavakkal in Persian what he had to say. Muḥammad Tavakkal replied: "The three Europeans who accompanied me, pledged themselves to bring about, by some means or other, the rendition of Fort St. George to the Muḥammadans; failing which, they solemnly promised that they would return to captivity. You declare that you will give no more than thirty or forty thousand rupees worth of presents. This is not what Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân expects. His heart is set upon the receipt of several lakhs of pagodas. Permit me then to depart, with the three Europeans." On hearing this speech, M. Delarche said that he would communicate it to the Governor, and obtain his reply. So saying, he went to M. Dupleix, and having communicated what Muḥammad Tavakkal had said, returned with the Governor's order that I should go to him at once. He then turned to Muḥammad Tavakkal, and said: "Wait for us at your lodgings. We will come there, and communicate to you the reply to your demand." M. Delarche and I both went to the Governor, who addressed me thus: "Muḥammad Tavakkal threatens that he will take himself off. What course do you suggest?" I replied: "Be assured that he never will. What else can he do, when we refuse to yield to his demands, but hold out a threat of this kind? We must reply to it that he

M. Tavakkal objects to the amount, proposed.

And asks leave to depart, taking the released Europeans.

Report made to M. Dupleix, by M. Delarche.

Diarist and he, wait on the Governor, who asks the opinion of the former.

is at perfect liberty to go at once, if he feels so disposed. We must add that we will send a small party of Europeans, to accompany the three who are to be delivered again into the hands of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. The men forming the escort will go to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and say: "We have delivered to you the three Europeans. The . . . . "*

CHAP. XL. — 1747. The advice which he, thereupon, gives.

Tuesday, 31st January 1747, or 22nd Tai of Akshaya.—This morning, Muḥammad Tavakkal was sent for, and instructed to write a letter to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, in the following terms: "The Governor of Pondichery agrees to have the Muḥammadan flag hoisted over Fort St. George, for eight days. When this has been done, he will write to the Nawâb asking him, in respectful terms, for the cession of Fort St. George, which is to be graciously made over to him, by a written order from the Nawâb. The Governor will then be at liberty to hoist the French flag over the citadel. He promises to give presents to the value of 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. He says, through me, to the Nawâb: 'You have taken the part of the English, and dishonour, in addition to expenditure of money for the support of your soldiers, has, hitherto, been your only portion. You have never obtained any credit, or gained any advantage. Now side with us, and we will save you all trouble. We will, at our own expense, maintain

M. Tavakkal instructed to write a letter to Husain Sahib.

This to state the terms offered by the Governor.

Convey message, from M. Dupleix to the Nawab.

* Incomplete in the original.

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your troops. Keep your proper place, and we will bring you renown, and show you the road to fortune. Give us but a trial.' For my part, I do not think that there is any prospect of the Nawâb's obtaining a cash more, as a result of the present expedition. If these proposals are agreeable to you, inform me that they are: if not, recall me, and I will return. The Governor says that he has suggested the course which I have mentioned, in view of the long-standing friendship between you and him, which had been clouded only by this brief breach."

Request recall, if the terms are not approved.

And attribute the proposals made, to the Governor's friendship.

. . .*

Diarist sends certain letters to France.

Sunday, 5th February 1747, or 27th Tai of Akshaya.—As a Dutch sloop was about to sail for Mascareigne, I went this morning, to the house of M. Desmarêts, and delivered to him a letter which I had written to M. Dumas, and one addressed to M. Soude, and requested that they might be sent with the Company's letters to France.

Governor asks the news of the enemy.

I repaired to the Governor's house at 10. He asked me whether I had obtained any tidings from the camp of the Muhammadans. I replied: "Yesterday, news came that they were advancing on Pondichery. But the real state of affairs in the camp is as follows. Some Muhammadan horsemen have mutinied, and demand the arrears of pay due to them. Others, who lost their horses, and were promised fresh ones, are now wandering about, and complaining

Diarist tells him what he has heard.

* Incomplete in the original.

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bitterly, as this undertaking has not been fulfilled. The troops say that if the French make but a show of advancing from Pondichery, they will welcome them, as they could then make that a pretext for taking to flight. They murmur because not one of the twenty or thirty ships promised by the English has yet been seen. The talk in the camp is that Nâṣîr Jang is marching against the Mahratta army, with 15,000 horse, and that the Subahdars of Arcot and other places, have been directed, both by the Niẕâm, and by Nâṣîr Jang, to join them, with their forces, at the Krishṉa. Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân repeatedly invites Maḥfuz K͟hân to join with him in advancing to that river, but the latter invariably refuses, alleging that if Muḥammad 'Alî had suffered the reverses which he has, he would talk in another strain. There is a rumour in the camp that they will advance to besiege Pondichery, and Villiyanallûr." The Governor exclaimed: "Do you really think that they will make an attack?" I replied: "I do not, for they are constantly receiving letters from the Niẕâm urging them to retire. To cover the disgrace which they have incurred, on account of the defeats that they have sustained—which he has made a ground for recalling them—they will outwardly pretend that they have come to terms of peace, and so march away. They are not strong enough to oppose us." The Governor rejoined: "Do not you think that they may as well receive our presents privately, and allege publicly, as the reason for their departure, that they

Mentions a report that Nasir Jang is marching against the Mahrattas.

And a rumour that Pondichery will be attacked, by M. 'Ali Khan.

The conversation that ensues.

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The views expressed by diarist.

have received presents of enormous value from us?" I said: "They will do that. Their difficulty, however, is how to recover what has been spent for the maintenance of the troops raised by them to support the English, who have not paid them. The Muhammadans, so I hear, are making a show of their valour, with a view to obtain some more money from us, and so recoup their own losses." The Governor observed: "Was it not the English who asked the Muhammadans for assistance? They will take care to recover their expenses from the English." "Exactly so," said I. Whilst this conversation was going on, the Councillors assembled. A Council was afterwards held, and . . .*

The reply of the Governor.

Tuesday, 7th February 1747, or 29th Tai of Akshaya.—This evening at half-past 5, Mr. Morse, who had been the General† at Madras, and Governor there, left Pondichery, for Tranquebar, intending to go thence to Europe. Although he once possessed much power, he was not now able to procure even a double boat. He hired a single one, and set out with an accountant, and his interpreter Venkanna. There were no others, save these three, in the boat. Not even a catamaran accompanied it. In this splendid style did Mr. Morse depart to Tranquebar. M. Legou, the Deputy Governor of Pondichery, was the only person present when he embarked, and he remained only until Mr. Morse

Mr. Morse leaves for Europe.

The humble character of his departure.

The Deputy Governor alone, present.

* Incomplete in the original. † *Sic* in the original.

had got into the boat. As he stepped into it, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and as soon as he was on board, the white flag was hoisted, the sails were set, and the boat sped on to Tranquebar. Mr. Morse has left his wife and children, and also his property here. He said that he would send a sloop from Tranquebar, to carry them away. When this arrives, as it is said that it will in four or five days, his family will embark, with their effects.

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His family and property to follow, in sloop.

Muttu Mallâ Reḍḍi has written to me as follows: "Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan of Âlattûr has come here, and burns and plunders the villages. Order him to discontinue this." In reply, I wrote: "What right have we to order him to desist? We can exercise our authority only when the man who commits such acts of violence belongs to our country, or if the misdeeds are perpetrated by Frenchmen. But as it is, the 10,000 poligars of this country might have 10,000 grievances against one another, and it is not for us to interfere." Muttu Mallâ Reḍḍi, incensed at my answer, wrote letters of complaint against me, addressing one to the Governor, another to M. Dulaurens, and a third to the Councillors. Setting me aside, he also sent one to Tânappa Mudali, requesting him to present these letters to the persons for whom they were intended and to prefer a complaint against me. On this I personally reported to the Governor what had occurred. He thereupon took the letter addressed

M. Malla Reddi requests that V. Nayakkan may be forbidden to raid.

Diarist's reply.

M. Reddi thereupon complains to the Governor, etc.

And sends the letters through T. Mudali.

Diarist makes a report to the Governor.

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Bearer of the letters imprisoned.

to him, and ordered that the man who had brought it should be committed to custody. The Brâhman messenger was, at once, conducted by us to prison.

Messengers bring letter and presents from Nasir Jang.

Wednesday, 8th February 1747, or 30th Tai of Akshaya.—The following occurred here, this morning. The messengers who came from His Highness Nâṣîr Jang, the evening before last, bringing with them a letter and presents from him, halted at my garden house, outside the town-gate, and sent me word of their arrival. I communicated this to the Governor, who was pleased, and asked me where they were lodged. I informed him. He directed that they should be supplied with everything necessary, and well cared for at the place where they had halted.

And halt at diarist's garden house.

He reports this to the Governor.

Who directs that they be well cared for.

I will now relate, as far as I am able, all the particulars of the splendid procession which set out from Pondichery to receive, with all due ceremony, the dress of honour and letter, and to escort them to the town. At 9 this morning, 100 Mahé sepoys, the same number of Carnatic sepoys, and fifty spearmen taken from the Poligar's peons, were marshalled before the Governor's residence. Drums were carried on horses. Dancing girls, and their attendant musicians, stood in a line. The Governor now set out, and the following was the order of the array. A chariot, drawn by six horses, led the procession, and in rear of it were men mounted on war horses. The Governor's palanquin, preceded by a file of musketeers, came

The procession to receive the letter and presents.

The Governor sets out in state.

next. On either side waved white banners, fans of peacock's feathers, and chowries. A white umbrella was carried immediately behind the palanquin, which was preceded by fluteplayers playing on their instruments, trumpeters blowing on theirs, and drummers beating their drums. On either flank, rode an escort of sixteen European horsemen. Surrounded by this state the Governor moved forward. Behind him came, mounted on horseback, or seated in carriages, the Deputy Governor, M. Dulaurens, M. . . . * my [nephew] Appâvu, Sêshâchala Chetti, Madanânda Pandit, the chief of the peons, and Krishna Rao. At 6 in the morning, orders had been issued that a tent should be pitched on the esplanade, outside the Vazhudâvûr gate, but within the moat, and that two companies of soldiers should be drawn up there. Accordingly, the tent was made ready, and the soldiers were paraded. The procession, which started at 9 in the morning, and included the Governor, the other administrators, and the Hindu gentry, proceeded on its way, and reached the tent prepared outside the town-gate. The Governor remained there, but the rest of the party, including the Deputy Governor, the Councillors, the Hindu gentry, the palanquin-bearers, and the horse-soldiers, moved forward to my garden-house, where Nâsir Jang's messengers were staying.

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And is followed by the Deputy Governor, and others.

He alights at a tent outside the town,

The rest of the party goes to bring the messengers.

* Blank in the original.

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I, too, accompanied the deputation. We took charge of the letter and gifts, and brought them to the Governor, who was in the tent. As soon as he beheld the messengers, he rose from his seat, walked ten steps forward, and received the presents.

Salute fired when the Governor receives the presents.

As he did this, a salute of fifteen guns was fired from the ramparts. The dress of honour was then placed in the Governor's palanquin, and he

He then enters a carriage and the procession returns.

entered the carriage drawn by six horses. The remainder of the party took their places in the vehicles in which they had come; and so the procession started again with, perhaps, greater pomp than before. Leaving the Vazhudâvûr-gate, it passed along the bazaar-road, turned southwards, in front of my store-house, marched through the

The route followed when doing this.

street where Muttaiya Pillai's house stands, then turned due east, leaving the Deputy Governor's house behind it, entered the eastern road to the Governor's mansion, and finally drew up at the northern gate of his residence, where it halted. As the Governor entered his house, a salute of

Messengers formally received at the Governor's house.

twenty-one guns was fired. The two messengers from Nâsîr Jang, who came with the procession, were next invited to sit down. A brief conversation ensued, and they were presented with betel and nut, and sprinkled with rose water. Farewells were then exchanged, and the men returned to the lodgings provided for them.

After this, M. Dulaurens came, at 11, to the areca-nut store-house, where I was, and, standing in the

street, called me. I went out, and saluted him. He requested me to approach, and asked if it was true that the presents from Nâṣîr Jang had arrived. I replied that it was. "Is it the custom of the Muhammadans?" he said; and then continued: "You must come to my house, and tell me, then and there, whatever happens." Knowing what an utter babbler he was, and how soon he would reveal to another whatever was said to him in confidence, I thought that if this reached the ears of the Governor it would displease him. Even if I should withhold from him every thing confidential, and communicate to him only commonplace and ordinary matters, he would not hold his tongue, and the wisest thing—so I thought—was not to tell him anything. I kept my own counsel, and saying that I would do as requested, left him. He then went home.

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M. Dulaurens asks diarist to acquaint him with all that is going on.

Diarist, knowing him to be a babbler, considers what to do.

And decides to tell him nothing,

The reason for Nâṣîr Jang sending the presents mentioned above was as follows. As Imâm Ṣâḥib, is with the Niẓâm, he has been instrumental in obtaining Nâṣîr Jang's letter. He forwarded it to Avây Ṣâḥib, his agent at Arcot. From there, Avây Ṣâḥib came, followed by Nâṣîr Jang's messengers, with the letter and gifts. The contents of the letter were . . . *

Why Násir Jang sent presents.

The procession which started to receive, with due honour, the presents which came on this occasion,

* Blank in the original.

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Remarks on the procession.

was, as regards style and splendour, equal to the previous one, excepting that in the present instance more white umbrellas, chowries, and fans of peacocks' feathers, were displayed, and the music consisted of more hautboys, flutes, and drums.

Jayaram Pandit brings letters, from Raghoji Bhonsla.

To-day, a letter arrived for the Governor, and another for me; both from Raghôji Bhônsla. Jayarâm Paṇḍit, who came to collect money, and was residing in Chandâ Ṣâḥib's house, brought them to me. Having read the letter addressed to myself, I went to the Governor's house, taking with me Jayarâm Paṇḍit, whom I presented to the Governor. He laid before him an offering of five pagodas, and delivered to him the letter which he had brought. The Governor took and handed it to me. It ran as follows: . . .* This evening, Muḥammad Tavakkal received a letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and another from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's son. In the former of these, it was written: "You say that the Governor of Pondichery declines tofix the sum of money that he should pay me, and desires me to do so. Well; the French have pillaged Madras and Mylapore, and it appears but just that they should give me half their plunder. If not, I will be content with ten, eight, seven, or even five, lakhs. Sound the Governor, and stipulate for the payment of such sum as he may be willing to give. When you state what amount he is prepared to pay, I will write to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad

He delivers one to the Governor with an offering.

Contents of a letter from Husain Sahib, to M. Tavakkal.

* Blank in the original.

'Alî Khân, ordering them to return, with their troops. You must forward your reply as soon as you can. Ask the French, also, for the restoration of the articles taken from Dastgîr Ṣâḥib, our priest. I have obtained an order from the Nawâb, directing Maḥfuz Khân to prevent his horsemen from attacking Azhisapâkkam, and have forwarded it to his camp."

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Five ships which lay in the roads were despatched to-day, on an expedition. Two of them, when at Madras, encountered a storm, and had been dismasted. They were brought to Pondichery, and refitted. The third was the *St. Louis*. The remaining two were under the command of M. Dordelin, and had arrived from Acheen. All five were fitted out as men-of-war, and were supplied with the necessary munitions and stores. Their mission was to engage and take the English ships, which were said to be cruising on the Malabar coast, off Anjengo and Tellicherry; the capture of these places, also, forming one of the objects of the expedition. The captains of the ships were directed to take on board 6,000 Angrias, * who had offered

Five ships which lay in the roads sail.

These all equipped as men-of-war.

Objects of the expedition.

6,000 Angrias to be embarked.

* This name was applied to the followers of a noted piratical chieftain—one Toolajee Angria—who, following, at the time that Ranga Pillai wrote, in the footsteps of both his father and step-brother, had long been a constant source of trouble and danger to the sea trade of the Malabar coast, and of frequent annoyance to the servants of the East India Company. His misdeeds, and those of his people, were finally put an end to, in February 1756, when his last stronghold, Gheria, was captured, and his fleet destroyed, by a combined sea and land force under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, and he, being made a prisoner, was handed over to the Mahrattas, who took good care that he should do no further harm.

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their services. The Râjâ of Travancore was also written to, asking him to procure the assistance of the Angrias, and the letter was carried by one of the ships. The squadron set sail from Pondichery, about one watch * before sunrise.

A sloop sails for Mascareigne, soon afterwards.

Closely following the ships, a sloop also left Pondichery, for Mascareigne. M. de la Villebague was a passenger by her.

* Three hours.

CHAPTER XLI.

FROM FEBRUARY 9TH, 1747, *TO FEBRUARY* 19TH, 1747.

The request made by Husain Şâhib—Governor promises to send the orders sought—Diarist lays before him a petition from the English soldiers—He promises to consider it—Conversation regarding a certain Jemadar—Governor directs diarist to employ good spies—News from Mahé of the doings of 6,000 Angrias—Letter from Mahfuz Khân—Arrival of a Dutch sloop with grain—Price which this realised—Governor's message to M. Tavakkal—This points out that the Muhammadans have not carried out their agreement—And repudiates responsibility for the consequences—M. Tavakkal assures diarist that the necessary orders have been issued—He subsequently repeats this to the Governor—Exclamation of the latter, on hearing it—Reply of M. Tavakkal—Certain letters, seized by the partisans of the English—These said to have been handed to Mahfuz Khân—Who caused the arrest of the writers—One of these severely injured by his captors—Alleged contents of the letters—Some of Mahfuz Khân's troops advance on Ariyânkuppam—But are beaten off—And occupy a temple at Tirukkânji—Whither it is stated that the camp of Muhammadans was to move—Diarist reports this to the Governor—Soldiers sent to Ozhukarai, and Ariyânkuppam—M. Tavakkal deputed to ask N. Quli Khân his intentions—Governor invites him to see the carnival before leaving—Diarist and he accordingly attend—He receives a pass enabling him to depart, and return—He doubts the expediency of starting—Diarist advises him to go—The orders conveyed to him in a letter, from Husain Şâhib—Diarist informs the Governor—Arrest of certain accountants reported to diarist—News of the reinforcement of the enemy—And of the sacking of three villages—Constant reports of like outrages—M. Tavakkal reaches the camp at Tirukkânji—And effects the recall of the raiders—M. 'Alî Khân arrives, and inquires concerning the negotiations at Pondichery—M. Tavakkal replies—And mentions the demands of H. Ţâhir Khân—He then states why he has been sent by the French—M. 'Alî Khân takes him to Mahfuz Khân—Who asks if he has concluded the treaty—And having heard M. Tavakkal, says that the French must no longer procrastinate—M. Tavakkal then gives him the message from them—He asks whether they will surrender Madras—The reply made by M. Tavakkal—Mahfuz Khân takes exception to the capture of Madras—M. Tavakkal explains—And specifies the reasons given by the French, for

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their action—M. Khân refers to the attack on him at Mylapore, and M. Tavakkal accounts for it—He still further objects—M. Tavakkal states what the French assert—M. Khân reverts to the question of hoisting the flag on Fort St. George—M. Tavakkal replies—He repeats the message, from the French—M. Khân says that he will withdraw—M. Tavakkal reports this to diarist—Governor decides to invite Mahfuz Khân to Pondichery—M. Tavakkal makes a suggestion—Governor having approved, arrangements are made—Arrival of a Portuguese ship that had previously carried French mails, etc.—A force starts to capture certain marauders—Three taken, and sent to Pondichery—The punishment to which the Governor sentences them—M. Tavakkal sets out on his mission to M. Khân and M. 'Alî Khân—Contents of the letters which he takes to them—Diarist asks M. Tavakkal to explain the burning of Azhisapâkkam—He promises to take steps to stop further outrages—Is absent when the reply arrives—And diarist opens it—It puts the blame on the Pindarees and Kâbâs—Another letter, opened and read by diarist, contains nothing—Contents of both communicated to M. Paradis—What he thereupon said—Governor asks diarist if M. Tavakkal reached the camp—And bids him let him know when news is received—A certain agreement, bearing the Governor's seal, is returned in a letter to diarist—Governor referred, by M. 'Alî Khân, to this letter—He questions diarist,—His reply—Letters to Governor from M. Khân and M. 'Alî Khân—M. Tavakkal returns—He reports that M. Khân and his brother agree to visit Pondichery—And details the reception they expect—Governor objects to leaving the fort, in order to meet them—But expresses his readiness to go to a certain point—And undertakes to send out the Deputy Governor, etc.—This intimated to M. Khân and M. 'Alî Khân—Who approve, and direct M. Tavakkal to invite diarist to come with him.—They, and M. Delarche, accordingly set out—Diarist presents mohurs, on appearing before M. Khân—Who receives him warmly—Bestows on him a dress of honour, and his own dagger—And casting his shawl on him, makes a polite speech—M. Delarche, also, given a dress of honour—M. Khân postpones starting until next morning—Diarist's party returns—Governor admires the dagger much—Discusses with diarist why it was given—Governor selects the Council-house, to accommodate M. Khân—It is shown to M. Tavakkal, who approves—Diarist reports this to Governor—The deputation which went to meet M. Khân—This joins him at Tirukkânji—Deputy Governor, etc., receive him, near a certain choultry—The usual ceremonies having been observed, the party proceeds—It enters a tent pitched outside the moat—M. Dupleix then sets out, in state, from a tent within the moat—Details of the procession—Meeting of the Governor and the Nawâb—The formal invitation to enter Pondichery—The state procession to the Governor's house—Where M. Khân alights—And is conducted, by the Governor, to the Council-house—Dinner is prepared—The Governor entertains M. Khan—How he spent his time,

until evening—Governor, and he, settle the terms of the proposed convention—He then gives presents to the Governor, and his family—Supper is served at gun-fire—After it, the party attends a dance.

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Thursday, 9th February 1747, or 1st Mâsi of Akshaya (New moon day).—This morning, I received a letter from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, who wrote: "There are, at Madras, goods, corn, two houses, and two gardens, belonging to my father's elder brother Miyân Ṣâḥib. Mention this to the Governor, and obtain from him an order addressed to the commandant of Madras, permitting Miyân Ṣâḥib to sell the corn, and take the proceeds, and directing that officer not to meddle with either the houses, or the gardens." I received another of the same nature from Imâm Ṣâḥib, and spoke on the subject to the Governor, who said that he would send an order to Madras, to the effect sought.

The request made by Husain Sahib.

Governor promises to send the orders sought.

I also communicated to M. Dupleix the contents of a petition which the English soldiers had submitted. He smiled, and exclaimed: "We have allowed Mr. Morse, and others, to go, after taking from them the necessary assurance. But we cannot release these soldiers on the same terms." A short time afterwards, he said that he would consider the matter. He then remarked to me: "I have some misgivings about Jemadar 'Abd-ul Rahmân. I suspect that there is collusion between him and the men in the Muhammadan camp." I replied: "I have already told you, that, at one time, he carried on a correspondence with the men in the camp, but that this had since ceased. I have not heard that he

Diarist lays before him a petition from the English soldiers.

He promises to consider it.

Conversation regarding a certain Jemadar.

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Governor directs diarist to employ good spies.

has renewed it." "Any how," said the Governor, "employ two clever spies to bring you, from time to time, news from the camp. Also, set men on the watch in the European quarter, to learn what transpires." I submitted that I had already taken the measures which he suggested. "Maintain a vigilant watch, then," he replied.

News from Mahe of the doings of 6,000 Angrias.

In the afternoon, the mail from Mahé arrived. The intelligence conveyed in the letter received by it was that 6,000 Angrias * had surrounded Tellicherry, and were attacking, with great vigour, the three ships which were lying off the coast. These tidings, however, require confirmation. The mail was twelve days in transit. The Brahmans who came with it stated that they had been ordered to carry the bags expeditiously.

Letter from Mahfuz Khan.

Friday, 10th February 1747, or 2nd Mâsi of Akshaya.—At 11 last night, a letter was received from His Highness Maḥfuz Khân.

Arrival of a Dutch sloop with grain.

Saturday, 11th February 1747, or 3rd Mâsi of Akshaya.—The Dutch sloop *Blanche*, which arrived from Pulicat, landed a quantity of grain. This was measured, and valued at the market rate, and, after deducting the landing charges from the gross amount, the net sum paid to the captain, Patram *alias* Srîrangaraghu Nâyukulu, in Pondichery gold of eight touches, was 935 pagodas, 22 fanams, and 25 cash.

Price which this realised.

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* *Vide* foot-note at p. 297.

To-day, the Governor sent for me, and said: "Go to Muḥammad Tavakkal, the agent of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and give him the following message: 'You formerly promised that if we withdrew our men from the camp occupied by them at Ariyânkuppam, the Muhammadan troops, would be withdrawn. We have accordingly recalled our soldiers. But see what the Muhammadans have done. They still remain in camp, and two hundred of their horsemen have raided Azhisapâkkam, and have extended their depredations as far as Tirukkânji. If we once set our troops in motion, we cannot be answerable for the consequences.' Add, of your own accord, whatever seems to you proper under the circumstances." I accordingly went to Muḥammad Tavakkal, and gave him the Governor's message. He replied: "In the letter which I received eight days ago, from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, it was stated that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had sent an order to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to withdraw their forces, and put a stop to the outrages which were being perpetrated. I do not know what depredations the Kâbâ * horsemen may not have committed on their own account. You may rest assured that acts such as these were not sanctioned by the commanders of the army." Muḥammad Tavakkal accompanied me to the

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Governor's message to M. Tavakkal.

This states that the Muhammadans have not carried out their agreement.

And repudiates responsibility for the consequences.

M. Tavakkal assures diarist that the necessary orders have been issued.

* Wilson speaks of these as being, "a descriptiōn of people, to the north of the Mahratta provinces, said to be a piratical tribe on the gulf of Cutch."

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He subsequently repeats this to the Governor.

Exclamation of the latter, on hearing it.

Reply of M. Tavakkal.

Governor's house, and made to him exactly the same statement as he had to me, adding that he would personally write to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân requesting them to put a stop to further inroads. On hearing this, the Governor exclaimed: "It would be well if the Muhammadans kept within bounds. If they do not, and if once our troops enter your country, I will not be answerable for the consequences." "You need not apprehend anything serious," replied Muḥammad Tavakkal. He then obtained permission to leave, and departed to his lodgings.

Certain letters seized by the partisans of the English.

And said to have been handed to Mahfuz Khan.

Who caused the arrest of the writers.

Monday, 13th February 1747, or 5th Mâsi of Akshaya.—News arrived this morning, to the effect that Shaikh Aḥmad, the amaldâr of Porto Novo, and Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai, who formerly was accountant to Âṇḍiyappa Mudali, of Porto Novo, had jointly written a letter to the Governor M. Dupleix, and another to me; that Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai had written another separate letter to me; that these were entrusted to some of the Company's peons, who were ordered to take them through Bâhûr; that on the way the letters were seized by the partisans of the English, and carried to the Governor of Fort St. David, who directed his interpreter, Rangappa Nâyakkan, to take them to Maḥfuz Khân; that on receiving the letters, which were written in Persian, Maḥfuz Khân read them, and becoming furious, ordered his men to seize Vêlâyuda Piḷḷai, and cast him into a dungeon in

Fort St. David; that Vêlâyuda Pillai was laid hold of as he was passing near Pâdirikuppam, on his way to Porto Novo; that Shaikh Ahmad, also, was arrested, and kept in the custody of ten horsemen; that the captors of Vêlâyuda Pillai gave him countless blows; that his ears were torn off; that he vomited blood whenever he coughed, and was not expected to live; and that he had been placed in irons, and thrown into a prison in the fort. In the letters sent by Shaikh Ahmad, and Vêlâyuda Pillai, they stated that Fort St. David was in a defenceless condition; that a considerable number of horses had perished in the Muhammadan camp; that they would induce the few troops that remained to encamp on the road to Villiyanallûr, near Pondichery; and that the French had nothing to do but to seize the opportunity, and fall upon the enemy, forcing them to take flight to Arcot. Such was the intelligence conveyed to me by residents of Porto Novo, and I communicated it to the Governor, who grieved that such things should have happened on his account.

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One of these severely injured by his captors.

Alleged contents of the letters.

Tuesday, 14th February 1747, or 6th Mâsi of Akshaya.—Yesterday being the day for the carnival of the Europeans, the Governor was up until a late hour of the night, and when retiring to rest, ordered that he should on no account be disturbed before 11, this forenoon. In the morning, news arrived from Ozhukarai, to the effect that a body of 400 horse, 200 or 250 musketeers, and 250

Some of M. Kan's troops advance on Ariyankuppam.

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swordsmen, had set out from the camp of Maḥfuz Khân, at Kondûr Tope, and had marched towards Ariyânkuppam. As they approached the town, the forty-seven Frenchmen who were stationed on the fortifications caught sight of them, and issuing from the gate, gave chase to, and fired at, them. One of the horses was shot. The Muhammadan cavalry thereupon took to flight, and the French soldiers returned to Ariyânkuppam. The horsemen who fled attacked Kilinjakuppam, and plundered the houses of the Reddies, and other inhabitants, of all the movable property that they contained. They then forced their way into the temple of Tirukkânji, and took possession of it. It was also reported that Nâṣîr Quli Khân, who commanded this force, was building a wall there with the view to protecting the camp of Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî which, it was stated, they had resolved to move thither. It was about 10 in the morning, when this intelligence arrived. I, at once, went to the Governor's house, to communicate it to him, but as he was asleep, I waited until he arose, and then told him all that is recorded above. He thereupon ordered the despatch of a party of 300 soldiers to Ozhukarai, under the command of M. de la Tour. After the necessary preparations had been made, this force set out from Pondichery, at 3 in the afternoon, and camped at Ozhukarai. Another body of troops was despatched, to occupy Ariyânkuppam. This consisted of . . .* Europeans,

But are beaten off.

And occupy a temple at Tirukkanji.

Whither it is stated the Muhammadan camp was to move.

Diarist reports this to the Governor.

Soldiers sent to Ozhukarai, and Ariyankuppam.

and . . .* Mahé sepoys, including those who were already there, and was under the command of M. Goupil.

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M. Tavakkal deputed to ask N. Quli Khan his intentions.

The Governor then summoned Muḥammad Tavakkal, who acted as the representative of Ḥusain Ṣâhib, and instructed him to repair to Nâṣîr Quli K͟hân, the commander of the troops which had encamped by the Tirukkânji river, and inquire of him whether he had come there to commence war, or had made it a mere halting-place, on his march back to Arcot. Muḥammad Tavakkal was preparing to start, when the Governor stopped him saying: "As this is the carnival season, the Europeans will, to-night, dance at a masque. You may attend it, and depart in the morning." Muḥammad Tavakkal agreed, and having obtained permission of the Governor to retire, came direct to my areca-nut store-house, and remained there. At 7 o'clock, the Governor invited Muḥammad Tavakkal, and me, to hear the songs of the Europeans, and airs played on several instruments, such as trumpets, drums, etc. We listened to the music until half-past 8, when Muḥammad Tavakkal rose to take leave. The Governor presented him with a permit enabling him to pass out of the town-gate without being questioned by the sentinels, and to obtain ingress to the town on his return, and desired him to depart, next morning, on his errand. He thereupon went

Governor invites him to see the carnival before leaving.

Diarist and he accordingly attend.

He receives a pass enablin him to depart, and return.

* Blank in the original.

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He doubts the expediency of starting.

to his lodgings, and I returned to my areca-nut store-house.

Serious doubts then entered Muḥammad Tavakkal's mind as to whether, in view to avoiding risk of grave complications, he should proceed on his mission. I reasoned with him, and advised going. Just then, he received a letter addressed to him from Arcot, by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib. It ran thus: "I have given ear to the verbal communication made to me by Nâgôji Paṇḍit. I have also read your letter. You say that the Governor of Pondichery will give only 40,000 rupees worth of presents, and is not likely to offer more. There is, moreover, no allusion to my request that he should not attack Fort St. David. You are to treat with him, and take a guarantee to that effect, and you are to do so only after he offers to pay five lakhs of rupees, and promises not to interfere with Fort St. David. You may then communicate the result to me. If the Governor does not consent to these conditions, but adheres to his proposals to pay me only thirty or forty thousand rupees, you may depart at once." After having communicated the contents of the letter, Muḥammad Tavakkal delivered it to me. I reported the matter to the Governor, who said that he would consider it on the morrow.

Diarist advises him to go.

The orders conveyed in a letter to him, from Husain Sahib.

Diarist informs the Governor.

Arrest of certain accountants reported to diarist.

A letter, dated 1st Mâsi [9th February 1747], arrived from Gôpâlakrishṇa Aiyan, and was to the effect that the three accountants employed under Muttaiya Piḷḷai had been arrested, and confined in

separate cells; that M. d'Espréménil had told M. Friell that Muttaiya Pillai was an influential man, and should therefore not be molested; and that a search was to be instituted in the house of Kandappan, who had fled.

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Wednesday, 15th February 1747, or 7th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, news arrived from the enemy's camp, Ariyânkuppam, and Ozhukarai, to the effect that, in addition to the troops which arrived yesterday, a thousand horse had, this morning, joined the main body encamped on the Tirukkânji river; that Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân had moved their camp to the immediate neighbourhood of Bâhûr, and that some mounted men, issuing from it, had plundered and set fire to Azhisapâkkam, and had also pillaged Kommaiyapâkkam, and Kilinjakuppam. Reports also are constantly being received that the Muhammadans are plundering, and devastating Teduvânattam, Timmappa Nâyakkanpâlaiyam, Pûranânkuppam, and other villages, near Azhisapâkkam.

News of the re-inforcement of the enemy.

And of the sacking of three villages,

Constant reports of like out-rages.

This morning, before sunrise, Muhammad Tavakkal set out from Pondichery, and reached, on the banks of the Tirukkânji river, the camp of Nâsir Quli Khân, to whom he spoke, and through whom he sent messengers and horsemen, to recall the troops that were ravaging and burning Azhisapâkkam, Kilinjakuppam, and other villages in that neighbourhood. Muhammad Tavakkal was then about to proceed to Bâhûr, where Mahfuz Khân

M. Tavakkal reaches the camp at Tirukkanji.

And effects the recall of the raiders.

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M. 'Ali Khan arrives, and inquires concerning the negotiations at Pondichery.

was encamped, when Nawâb Muhammad 'Alî Khân arrived. Muhammad Tavakkal made his obeisance to him, and presented him with five rupees. Muhammad 'Alî thereupon embraced him, and asked when, and why he had come, and whether the negotiations which he had been conducting at Pondichery had been concluded. He replied: "The terms

M. Tavakkal replies.

of the treaty are still being discussed. The French contend that they are not bound to give us anything. But they are prepared to make us presents to the value of 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, for they say that they could not well withhold such gifts, when a

And mentions the demands of H. Tahir Khan.

distinguished personage pays them a visit. Nawâb Husain Tâhir Khân, however, demands five lakhs of rupees. He has instructed me to take a pledge from the French for the payment of that amount, as well as an undertaking that they will not interfere with Fort St. David. He requires that the French should hoist the Muhammadan flag over Fort St. George, and keep it flying for eight days, and that they should then write to the Nawâb, begging him to hand over the fort to them, and should thus acquire possession of it. He has also enjoined on me to depart from Pondichery, and repair to Arcot, if the French do not agree to these conditions. Whilst the terms of the treaty were still under discussion, your followers advanced,

He then intimates why he has been sent by the French.

and began to commit depredations. In consequence of this, the French have sent me to ascertain from you whether you mean peace, or war. They say that if you declare war, you may as well do so publicly.

They however do not understand why your men should raid during the time that negotiations for a treaty are pending." Muḥammad 'Alî Khân replied that it was not his fault if Maḥfuz Khân would not listen to him, and he thereupon invited Muḥammad Tavakkal to accompany him, and repaired with him to Maḥfuz Khân, who was encamped at Bâhûr. To him, also, Muḥammad Tavakkal presented five rupees. Maḥfuz Khân then exclaimed: "You have been absent for a month. Have you concluded the terms of the treaty?" Muḥammad Tavakkal explained to him the conditions which Ḥusain Ṭâhir had proposed to the French, and stated what they had agreed to give. Maḥfuz Khân replied: "Why should there be so much procrastination as regards this affair? The French may just as well at once say yes, or no, to our demands, and settle the matter out of hand." Muḥammad Tavakkal then informed Maḥfuz Khân of the contents of the last letter that he had received from Ḥusain Ṭâhir, and of the other particulars which he had previously mentioned to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and then went on to say: "The French have now sent me to ask what your intentions are. They desire to know why your troops are attacking and pillaging their villages. They say that if you came for war, you should not have commenced any negotiations with them, and that they then would be prepared to take action. They demand from you a declaration whether you intend to fight, as your acts would lead

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M. 'Ali Khan takes him to Mahfuz Khan.

Who asks if he has concluded the treaty.

And having heard M. Tavakkal, says that the French must no longer procrastinate.

M. Tavakkal then gives him the message from them.

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He asks whether they will surrender Madras.

The reply made by M. Tavakkal.

M. Khan takes exception to the capture of Madras.

M. Tavakkal explains.

And specifies the reasons given by the French for their action.

them to infer that you do." Maḥfuz Khân asked whether the French were willing to give up Madras, or not. Muḥammad Tavakkal replied: "They say that they cannot do anything on their own responsibility; that a French Admiral, acting under the instructions of their king, fought the English, captured Fort St. George, and delivered it into their hands; and that this being the case, they cannot surrender it without obtaining permission from their king." Maḥfuz Khân remarked: "If the French and English were at war on the sea, why should the former have captured Madras, which is on land?" Muḥammad Tavakkal then said: "The French assert that, prior to this, the English captured a ship sent by them to Manilla on behalf of the Emperor, and bearing his flag. They allege that the English also captured other French ships bound for Manilla, Mocha, and Acheen, and seized goods to the value of twenty lakhs of pagodas, and that it was in order to retaliate that they declared war, overcame them, and took possession of Fort St. George. They further say that on the occasion when Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân visited Pondichery, they received him with great honour, and complained to him that the English had insolently seized even a ship of theirs carrying the Emperor's flag, and also others belonging to them. The Nawâb, they say, not only sanctioned their attacking the English, but also promised to aid them with a mounted contingent. But the French,

being unwilling to cause any trouble to the Nawâb, took action against the English, without any help from him, and seized their enemy's town on the coast. Now what can we urge in reply to these arguments?" "Well, if it be so," Maḥfuz Khân replied, "I cannot understand why the French should have attacked us at Mylapore." To this, Muḥammad Tavakkal made the following answer: "They assert that the troops which were encamped at Mylapore did not remain inactive, but pushed their camp as far as the Company's Gardens, and were preparing to advance against Madras. They avow, also, that instead of permitting the French soldiers who were on their way from Pondichery to Madras to pass them, without molestation, your men barred their path, and prepared to attack them. Hence, the French allege that they merely followed the example of a person who is bound to slay a cow, when it is intent on goring him to death, and that they therefore endeavoured to do what harm they could to your troops." Maḥfuz Khân said: "If the French, as they aver, were at war only with the English, why should their soldiers, who were occupying Madras, go about the country setting fire to our villages?" Muḥammad Tavakkal replied: "The French assert that you were the aggressor, and set fire to their village of Azhisapâkkam, when your troops first reached that neighbourhood, and that the acts done by them were in retaliation for this. In fact, they lay all the blame on you, and you will see that they can put

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M. Khan refers to the attac on him at Mylapore and M. Tavakkal accounts for it.

He still further objects.

M. Tavakkal states what the French assert.

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forward a reason for everything that they have done." Maḥfuz Khân then exclaimed: "Now, what do the French intend to do? Can you not contrive to induce them to permit our flag to be hoisted over Fort St. George for eight days, and then to receive possession of the fort, as if we had voluntarily ceded it to them?" "I have made them agree to that," replied Muḥammad Tavakkal, "but where we differ now is as to the amount of money to be paid. The French will consent to give only one-tenth of what we demand. They are now considering the conditions proposed in Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's last letter. In the meantime, your troops have assumed a hostile attitude, and I have been deputed by the French to ask of you whether you wish war, or peace, and to intimate to you that they are prepared for either." Maḥfuz Khân rejoined: "Peace, or war, is all one to me. For your sake, however, I will withdraw from here. Bring your negotiations to a speedy conclusion, and write to me the result." Such was the tale told me by Muḥammad Tavakkal, on his return. He also mentioned that many expressions of regard had passed between him, and Maḥfuz Khân. I interpreted his statement to the Governor, who had a long conversation with him. The result of this was that it was decided to invite Maḥfuz Khân to Pondichery, in view to having the advantage of a personal discussion with him, on the subject of settling the differences existing between the French and the Muhammadans. Muḥammad Tavakkal then

M. Khan reverts to the question of hoisting the flag on Fort St. George.

M. Tavakkal replies.

And repeats the message from the French.

M. Khan says that he will withdraw.

M. Tavakkal reports this to diarist.

Governor decides to invite Mahfuz Khan to Pondichery.

remarked : " It will not be proper to invite Mahfuz Khân by letter : I must go, in person, for this purpose." " Do so," said the Governor. Muhammad Tavakkal replied : " I will start in the morning, and will now write a letter advising Mahfuz Khân that I shall arrive at his camp to-morrow, to arrange with him with regard to certain matters." A letter was, therefore, written, at once, and addressed to Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. A written order was also sent to the sentinels at the town-gate, directing them to allow the letter to be taken to the Muhammadan camp. Muhammad Tavakkal is preparing to start for the camp, to-morrow.

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M. Tavakkal makes a suggestion.

Governor having approved, arrangements are made.

To-day, a Portuguese vessel from Chandernagore . . .* It was this ship that, sailing under a passport from the King of Portugal, was employed to convey mails and cargo to Chandernagore, Mahé, and Mascareigne, when, last year, the French were unable, to get ships from France . . . *

Arrival of a Portuguese ship that had previously carried French mails, etc.

Thursday, 16th February 1747, or 8th Mâsi of Akshaya.—M. de la Touche started from Ariyânkuppam, to-day, with thirty soldiers and twenty Mahé sepoys, to capture the Pindarees and Kâbâs who had set fire to the houses in Azhisapâkkam. As soon as they saw the Europeans, they scattered in headlong flight. Three, however, were captured, and sent to Pondichery, with their arms bound. They were taken before the Governor, who asked

A force starts to capture certain marauders.

Three taken, and sent to Pondichery

* Incomplete in the original.

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who they were. Those in whose custody they were replied: "They are the men, sir, who set fire to the houses in Azhisapâkkam." On hearing these words, the Governor became livid with rage, and directed that the three prisoners should be tied to a margosa tree, given fifty stripes each, by the Coffres, and, after the wounds caused by the beating had been rubbed with salt and vinegar, should be cast into the fort dungeon. The order was carried out, and the three men were thrown into the prison in the fort. As it was the Coffres who carried out the sentence on them, the blows were dealt with good effect, and drew a steady stream of blood at every stroke.

The punishment to which the Governor sentences them.

At 2 in the afternoon, Muhammad Tavakkal set out for the camp of Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, in order to invite them to Pondichery. Four of the Company's peons, and Subbaiyan, as the agent of the French, accompanied him. He was the bearer of two letters from the Governor; one to Mahfuz Khân, and the other to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. They were to this effect: "If you will come here, we can personally discuss our differences, and by raising and meeting objections on the spot, and interchanging our views, we can speedily arrive at a settlement." These letters were sealed, and were given to Muhammad Tavakkal.

M. Tavakkal sets out on his mission to M. Khan and M. 'Ali Khan.

Contents of the letters which he takes to them.

As soon as I received news, yesterday, that the houses at Azhisapâkkam had been burnt, I sent for Muhammad Tavakkal, and asked him to explain this act of incendiarism on the part of the

Diarist asks M. Tavakkal to explain the burning of Azhisapakkam.

Muhammadan horsemen, which had been committed soon after his return from the camp that he had visited, in view to treating for peace. In reply, he said : "I cannot believe that deeds such as these could have been perpetrated with the knowledge of those in command. I will, however, now write to put a stop to them." He accordingly prepared a letter to Nâṣîr Quli Khân, who was encamped near Tirukkânji, and despatched it yesterday. When the answer to this came, to-day, addressed to Muḥammad Tavakkal, he was not present to receive it, as he had already left for the camp, so I opened and read it, and this was what it contained : "The Pindarees and Kâbâs are the incendiaries. They disobey my strictest orders, and are beyond all control. Please communicate this to the Governor Ṣâḥib, and ask him to issue instructions to shoot down all those who may be seen burning houses in the villages. You may believe my statement, implicitly." A letter addressed by Maḥfuz Khân, to Muḥammad Tavakkal, also arrived. I opened and read that, too, and found nothing but the following : "You said," so ran the letter, "that you would come. Please do so, at once, to talk over matters." As Muḥammad Tavakkal was absent, I opened, read, and afterwards sealed, both the letters. I personally reported the contents of them to the Governor, who desired me to communicate these to M. Paradis. I accordingly obeyed the order, and when I did so, M. Paradis said to me : "If I was the

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He promises to take steps to stop further outrages.

Is absent when the reply arrives.

And diarist opens it.

It puts the blame on the Pindarees and Kabas.

Another letter, opened and read by diarist, contains nothing.

Contents of both communicated to M. Paradis.

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What he, thereupon said.

Governor, I would never tolerate such things. I am thoroughly disgusted at having to remain inactive. If I but received the word, I would at once set out, with 300 soldiers, and return with the heads of Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. To forbear any longer, is to throw aside all self-respect." As he was speaking in this strain, M. Dupleix approached, and they both went away conversing. I returned to my areca-nut store-house.

Governor asks diarist if M. Tavakkal reached the camp.

After a time, the Governor sent for me, and asked whether I had received tidings that Muḥammad Tavakkal had reached the camp. "How could I?" was the answer that I gave. He replied: "You will receive tidings to-morrow: communicate them to me, at once." I said: "Very good," and took leave of him.

And bids him let him know when news is received.

Friday, 17th February 1747, or 9th Mâsi of Akshaya.—When Ṣhaikh Aḥmad, the amaldâr of Porto Novo, visited Pondichery, some time ago, to treat with the French, on behalf of Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, an agreement was entered into with him, in which they undertook, if Muḥammad 'Alî Khân would withdraw his troops, to capture Fort St. David, Cuddalore, and the adjoining villages, and deliver possession of them to the Muḥammadans. This document, to which the Governor had affixed his seal, was taken away by Ṣhaikh Aḥmad, who kept it with him until now, but, finding that the project had become impracticable, he returned it to me to-day, enclosed in a letter which he wrote. Muḥammad

A certain agreement, bearing the Governor's seal, is returned in a letter to diarist.

Governor referred, by M. 'Ali Khan, to this letter.

'Alî Khân also sent a letter to the Governor, in which he referred him, for full particulars, to that addressed to me by Shaikh Ahmad. I communicated what is recorded above, to the Governor, who asked if I knew why the agreement had been returned. I replied: "Do you expect one who is under the control of his father, to act against the wishes of his elder brother?" On hearing this, he went away without saying anything further.

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He questions diarist.

His reply.

The messenger who had been sent to the Muhammadan camp brought, at 4 this afternoon, two letters to the Governor. One of them was written by Mahfuz Khân, and the other by Muhammad 'Alî Khân. They contained nothing but the following: "All particulars will be made known by Muhammad Tavakkal, on his return." On his arrival, he made the following statement, M. Delarche acting as Hindustani interpreter between him and the Governor. He said: "Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân both agree to come to Pondichery, and discuss matters with the Governor. But they expect to be received with fitting honours. They propose that a tent should be pitched for them near Ozhukarai, or at least in Ranga Pillai's garden. Attended by five or six officers, they will enter this, and the Governor should then promptly present himself, and taking hold of their hands should invite them, in the following words: 'Your house stands in Pondichery. Why do you hesitate to come and occupy your own abode?' They will then consent

Letters to Governor, from M. Khan, and M. 'Ali Khan.

M. Tavakkal returns.

He reports that M. Khan and his brother agree to visit Pondichery.

And details the reception they expect.

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Governor objects to leaving the fort, in order to meet them.

to enter Pondichery." The Governor replied: "The only objection that I have to complying with their request is this. It is a strict rule, laid down by our king, that the commander of a fort should, on no account, leave his charge, and proceed outside it. I cannot disobey this order. But as Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân insist on my going to receive them, I will cross the moat outside the fort, and go as far as the spot where the sentinel is stationed, and then, taking them by the hand, will lead them in. If they will consent to it, I will send the Deputy Governor, the Councillors, and others, to meet them. If I go out with my subordinates, how am I to be distinguished from them? If the commands of our king would permit me, I would even now repair to their camp, and bring them with me. Do you doubt it?" He then desired Muḥammad Tavakkal to write to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to this effect. This was at once done, and the letter was despatched by a messenger, at 10. An order was also sent to the guard at the gate, to allow the letter to pass.

But expresses his readiness to go to a certain point.

And undertakes to send out the Deputy Governor, etc.

This intimated to Mahfuz Khan and M. 'Ali Khan.

Saturday, 18th February 1747, or 10th Mâsi of Akshaya.—Their Highnesses, Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, wrote to Muḥammad Tavakkal, as follows: "The proposals of the Governor Ṣâḥib are agreeable to us. Invite Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai to come with you, and when you both arrive, we will discuss everything, and will start, at 3 in the afternoon." When the contents of the letter

Who approve and direct M. Tavakkal to invite diarist to come with him.

were made known to the Governor, he directed us three—Muḥammad Tavakkal, M. Delarche, and me —to proceed to the camp. We accordingly set out at 2, and went to Maḥfuz Khân. Twenty-two mohurs were given to me, in order that I might present them to him during the visit. When I reached our destination, it occurred to me that eleven mohurs were enough for the purpose, and I kept these ready. So, when we appeared before Maḥfuz Khân, who was encamped at Tirukkânji, I presented to him the eleven mohurs, and made my obeisance. He immediately rose, and having embraced me, bade me sit down. We exchanged compliments. Maḥfuz Khân then ordered a dress of honour to be brought, and presented it to me. It was worth Rs. 150. He tied the girdle around my waist, with his own hands, and taking his own cross-hilted dagger, thrust it into the fold of the girdle, saying at the same time: "This dagger I have bestowed on you, in order that, with it, you may overcome your enemies." He took off the shawl which covered his own shoulders, and threw it on mine, saying: "I entreat your friendship. My interests are yours. My fame is your fame, and my dishonour your dishonour. I beseech you to act accordingly." He next presented to M. Delarche a dress of honour valued at 40 or 50 rupees. Muhammad Tavakkal then entered. Maḥfuz Khân said that it was now too late to think of setting out and that he would start for Pondichery the next morning, at

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They, and M. Delarche, accordingly set out.

Diarist presents mohurs, on appearing before M. Khan.

Who receives him warmly.

Bestows on him a dress of honour, and his own dagger.

And, casting his shawl on him, makes a polite speech.

M. Delarche also given a dress of honour.

M. Khan postpones starting until morning.

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sunrise. On this we obtained permission to depart, but before we availed ourselves of it, Maḥfuz Khân said to me: "The business there may be done as you like." We returned to Pondichery, and repaired to the Governor's house, at 7. I related to him all the civilities that had been offered to us by Maḥfuz Khân. I told him, also, that he had presented me with a dagger. He took it from me, and examined it, with delight. Twenty times, at least, did he take it from me to look at it again, and show it to the Councillors and other Europeans of rank who were visiting him. "See," he would exultingly say to the visitor, "Rangappan has become a sepoy!" He then beckoned me to approach him, and asked why Maḥfuz Khân had bestowed the dagger on me. "Do you not know?" said I, "Perhaps it is meant that I should overcome Maḥfuz Khân with it, should he refuse to come to terms." "Indeed!" exclaimed the Governor, who continued, for a long time, to talk with great glee about the matter. He next considered where Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân should be lodged during his visit to Pondichery, and having decided that the Council-house, which stands to the eastward of his own residence, was best suited for the purpose, ordered me to show it to Muḥammad Tavakkal. I conducted him to the building, and having opened it, showed him over the premises. He was delighted, and said that it was a fitting residence for the Nawâb. I returned to the Governor, and having

Diarist's party returns.

Governor admires the dagger much.

Discusses with diarist why it was given.

Governor selects the Council-house, to accommodate M. Khan.

It is shown to M. Tavakkal, who approves.

told him that Muhammad Tavakkal was pleased with the accommodation provided, departed to my areca-nut store-house. I arrived there at 10, and after a stay of an hour, went home at 11.

Diarist reports this to Governor.

Sunday, 19th February 1747, or 11th Mâsi of Akshaya.—At 5 this morning, Muhammad Tavakkal, Madanânda Pandit, the European named Barthélemy, the chief of the peons, and I, set out from Pondichery, with drums and trumpets, to conduct Nawâb Mahfuz Khân into the town. We proceeded as far as Tirukkânji, when we saw His Highness advancing towards us, with a retinue of ten horsemen, preceded by a banner borne aloft on an elephant. The Deputy Governor, M. Delarche, and M. Guilliard, had, in the meantime, assembled at the mound near Dêvanâyaka Chetti's Choultry. When Mahfuz Khân reached this, the Deputy Governor, who was awaiting him, walked up to the palanquin in which the Nawâb was seated. They then embraced each other, the Nawâb being seated in his palanquin, and the Deputy Governor standing on the ground; and they exchanged compliments. The Nawâb next embraced M. M. Delarche and Guilliard, and after courtesies had been paid, and received, every one got into his palanquin, and set forth with the Nawâb. They passed by my garden-house, and when they neared the Upparu river, the firing of a salute of twenty-one guns was commenced. The party then reached the tent pitched on the outer side of the moat, and having alighted,

The deputation which went to meet M. Khan.

This joins him at Tirukkanji

Deputy Governor etc., receive him, near a certain choultry.

The usual ceremonies having been observed, the party proceeds.

It enters a tent pitched outside the moat.

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went in, and occupied seats. Intimation of this was conveyed to M. Dupleix, who was in the tent pitched on the inner side of the moat, but beyond the town-gate. He thereupon set out in state, in the following fashion. He was on foot, and on either side of him were carried two white umbrellas, and sheets of white cloth. Fans of peacocks' feathers, and chowries* were waved over him, and lighted flambeaus were also borne in procession. Before him marched fifty soldiers, two and two. The space between was filled by native officers, Coffres, and mace-bearers, who cleared the way for the procession to pass. When the Governor, with this ceremonious surrounding, entered the inner tent in which the Nawâb was seated, he rose to salute him. Having embraced each other, they exchanged compliments. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired when they met. The Governor then took the hand of the Nawâb, and addressed him, saying: "Why do you hesitate to go to your own house? Please come." Replying, "I will do so," Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân entered the palanquin of the Governor, whilst the Governor rode in that of the Nawâb. With kettle-drums beating, and fifes playing, the two palanquins were carried, side by side, between the two ranks of soldiers which were drawn up within the town-gate, and extended as far as the grass market. With due pomp, the procession moved on, and halted at the Governor's house,

M. Dupleix then sets out, in state, from a tent within the moat.

Details of the procession.

Meeting of the Governor and the Nawab.

The formal invitation to enter Pondichery.

The state procession to the Governor's house.

* A whisk usually made of the hair of a horse's tail; but also of the tail of the yâk; both tame, and wild. It is used to drive off flies, etc.

at 10 precisely. When the Nawâb alighted there, twenty-one guns were fired from the fort. The Nawâb and the Governor conversed for nearly two Indian hours, and the former then went on to the Council-house, where accommodation was provided for him. The Governor also accompanied him, and having chatted with him for a short time, returned to his residence. I shall now relate where the noon-day meal of the Nawâb was prepared. When I told the Governor, at 7 last night, of the intended visit of the Nawâb, he immediately sent for Parasurâma Piḷḷai, and directed him to tell Avây Ṣâḥib, the agent of Imâm Ṣâḥib, to make ready eatables for Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân, and also to provide Avây Ṣâḥib, without delay, with whatever articles he asked for. Accordingly, Avây Ṣâḥib prepared food, and sent it to-day, at noon. When the table was spread, the Governor seated himself beside the Nawâb, and invited him to partake of the repast. When the Nawâb sat down to table, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. As he intended to stay for the whole day, he, after having finished eating, remained where he was for a while, then slept, rose at 4, and stayed within doors enjoying the spectacle afforded by the European soldiers and Mahé sepoys, who were drawn up outside, on parade. After having looked at this for a short time, he proceeded to the terraced roof, amused himself by looking through a telescope, came down again, and remained on the second storey. Later on, the Governor,

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Where M. Khan alights.

And is conducted, by the Governor, to the Council-house.

Dinner is prepared.

The Governor entertains M. Khan.

How he spent his time, until the evening.

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Governor and he, settle the terms of the proposed convention.

He then gives presents to the Governor, and his family.

Supper is served at gun-fire.

After it, the party attends a dance.

the Nawâb, and M. Delarche, went together into a room, and talked over the terms of the convention. Their discourse was to the following effect: . . . * When an agreement had been come to, the Nawâb gave the following presents:—To the Governor, a horse and four jewels; to Madame, two satin under-cloths laced with gold, and one upper-cloth; to the Governor's† daughter, one upper-cloth laced with gold, and one satin under-cloth similarly ornamented. Having discussed all the terms of the agreement, and having arrived at a perfect understanding, the Governor and the Nawâb went out of doors; and the soldiers and sepoys, who had been drawn up outside the house, dispersed. Supper was then made ready, and the Nawâb, the Governor, and others sat down to it, at gun-fire. After it, they attended a dance, and departed to their homes, at 11. The Nawâb went, for the night, to his lodgings, and I returned to my house, had supper, and retired to rest. The guests enjoyed, for a long while, the violin-playing and dancing of the Europeans.

* Blank in the original.

† Most probably, Madame d'Auteuil, as she resided permanently at Pondichery.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM FEBRUARY 20TH, 1747 TO FEBRUARY 23RD, 1747.

Governor shows Mahfuz Khân his house, etc.—Rosewater, betel and nut, are presented—And M. Khân then departs in state, accompanied by the Governor—Details of the procession—Governor takes leave of M. Khân outside the town gate—Diarist bids him farewell, at the tent beyond the moat—And detains M. Tavakkal, to give him presents—The gifts made to Mahfuz Khân — The presents given to Nazîm 'Alî Khân—The visitors depart—Letter to M. Khan, from his brother—He sends it to the Governor—It reproaches M. Khân for his visit to Pondichery—And intimates receipt of orders for immediate return—Governor returns it, with one from himself—Remains of the state dinner sent to N. Quli Khân—Deputation sets out, to invite M. 'Alî Khân to Pondichery—He replies that he doubts if his health will permit an acceptance—The messengers mention rumours as to the return to Arcot—Presents from M. 'Alî Khân for the Governor, etc.—These left in a garden outside the town—Orders of the Governor regarding them—M. Delarche and M. Tavakkal come to Pondichery—The former reports to the Governor the excuse of M. 'Alî Khân—Delivers his message relative to the agreement made with Mahfuz Khân—And conveys a request for recognition of M. Tavakkal's services—The Governor addresses M. Tavakkal by a title already conferred on him—He also orders, for him, a pair of bangles—Procedure to be followed when bringing the presents into the town—M. Dupleix converses with M. Tavakkal regarding Mahfuz Khân's visit—Anger and threats of the Governor—Peremptory order given by him to M. Tavakkal—M. Delarche begs to be excused translating it—He, however, finally does so, in a modified form—Governor mollified by the submissiveness of M. Tavakkal—Who comes, much alarmed, to diarist—By whom he is reassured—Diarist asks him what H. Sâhib wrote—His reply—Diarist tells him that he already knew—Explains how this came about—And states why the Governor had asked to see H. Sâhib's letter—Diarist, again encourages him—Procession sent to bring the presents from M. 'Alî Khân—Details of these accompanying it—Presents placed in the Governor's palanquin—Reception at the town gate, and the Governor's house—Description of the gifts—The Governor distributes them—He puts on the turban of his dress of honour, and the Europeans present salute him—Bearer of the presents suitably cared for—Why the Governor put on the turban—The gifts made to the messenger—The presents sent to M. 'Alî Khân—The gifts for Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân—During diarist's absence two persons seek an interview with the Governor—Before whom they present themselves

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—And prefer a complaint against diarist—Governor bids them wait until he returns—They, unsuccessfully, attempt to force a hearing —When diarist returns, the two men visit him, and make a request —He promises to see to it—M. Tavakkal tells diarist that he is much perturbed by his instructions—Reminds him of what previously occurred—Accuses him of breaking faith—And being the cause of his dishonour—Diarist reassures him—And promises a satisfactory settlement—M. Tavakkal questions this—Diarist explains the grounds for his statement—They personally state matters to the Governor—Who questions any liability—Diarist induces him to increase the value of the presents—Governor directs M. Tavakkal, to see M. Khân regarding the gifts for the Nawâb—He, also, gives him a message to M. Khân—M. Tavakkal departs with the presents for M. Khân and his brother—M. 'Alî Khân sends presents to diarist—Who has them taken to the Governor—By whom they are handed to him, with congratulations—Madanânda Pandit tells diarist of an interview with Mme. Dupleix—In the course of which she spoke very ill of diarist—Said that he had hoodwinked both the Muhammadan envoy, and Governor—And expressed her intention of exposing him—He tells diarist what he said, in view to defend him—States that Mme. Dupleix adhered to what she had alleged—And bade him say nothing to diarist, or C. Mudali—Diarist promises to maintain secrecy—Asserts his complete honesty—And says that Madame is welcome to carry out her threat—Madanânda Pandit points out that she can do nothing—Diarist's reply—He records how Mme. Dupleix had pressed him for certain information—How, although realising the risks, he resolved not to give it—How he effected this—And how he never imparted to her any real secret—He refers to other matters which excited her cupidity—And induced her to intrigue to harm him, with the Governor—He cites a recent instance of her vindictiveness—Expresses the idea that Madanânda Pandit may be inciting her against him—And asseverates his absolute honesty—Two men ask the Governor for broad cloth—One of them excites his wrath—He, however, signs a large order for both cloth, and cash.

Governor shows M. Khan his house, etc.

Monday, 20th February 1747, or 12th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following occurred to-day. M Dupleix took Nawâb Mahfuz Khân to his house, and showed him various curiosities. After the midday meal, the Governor again took him in hand, and exhibited the whole of the presents which were to be made to him. Having seen these, the Nawâb proceeded to the central hall, and occupied a seat

there. The Governor sat next to him, and M. Delarche on the eastern side. The horsemen who formed the retinue of the Nawâb sat in a row on chairs. The Governor then ordered rose-water to be produced. I accordingly brought a flask filled with it, and handed it to him. He received it from me, and presented it to Maḥfuz Khân, to whom betel, and nut, were also tendered, on a tray. During the time that this was being done, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The clock then struck 4, and after this Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân took leave. He seated himself in a palanquin, the Governor entered another, and they both set out. As they did so, trumpets sounded, and drums were beaten on the terrace of the Governor's house. As they passed through the gate, a detachment of soldiers marched in front, with drums beating. A banner was also borne aloft, on an elephant. The palanquin of the Nawâb, and that of the Governor, were carried abreast of each other, the former being on the southern side, and the latter on the northern. White, and yâk-tail, chowries, and fans of peacocks' feathers, were waved, and white umbrellas were carried, on either side of them. There was music, which consisted of pipes, drums, and fifes. First in order, marched the Mahé sepoys; next came the Poligar's peons; the Nawâb's palanquin was borne after these, and abreast of it was carried that of the Governor; the Nawâb's troopers followed, and the soldiers brought up the rear.

Rose-water, betel, and nut are presented.

And M. Khan then departs, in state, accompanied by the Governor.

Details of the procession.

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Thus the procession set out, in great state. From Sunguvâr's godown, in the bazaar road, up to the town-gate, soldiers were disposed in two ranks, and between these Nawâb Mahfuz Khân was carried. As soon as he had passed through the gate, the Governor took leave of him, and halted. At the moment that they had bid each other farewell, twenty-one guns were fired from the ramparts. Beyond the town-gate, soldiers were drawn up, on either side of the path, as far as the moat, and Mahé sepoys lined the glacis. After taking leave, the Nawâb was carried through these lines of soldiers. I went on in front, and stood at the entrance to the tent which was pitched beyond the moat. When Mahfuz Khân passed by, I stepped forward, and bade him farewell. The Governor ascended the rampart overlooking the moat, and stood watching Mahfuz Khân, until he had passed beyond my garden-house; and when the Nawâb was out of sight, he returned home. Muhammad Tavakkal, too, followed in the train of Mahfuz Khân, but I invited him to stay. My object in doing this was to give him, before sending him away, some presents, for he had exerted himself in bringing about the agreement, and had received no gifts, or other recompense.

Governor takes leave of M. Khan outside the town-gate.

Diarist bids him farewell, at the tent beyond the moat.

And detains M. Tavakkal, to give him presents.

The gifts made to Mahfuz Khan.

The presents which were given to His Highness Nawâb Mahfuz Khân were as follows:

2 Large mirrors.

1 Clock, in a case.

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1747. The gifts made to M. Khan—(*continued*)

2 Large silver-mounted guns.
2 Large brass-mounted guns.
2 Double-barrelled guns.
4 Silver-mounted pistols.
4 Brass-mounted pistols.
160 Yards of red velvet.
87 Rolls of brocade, embroidered with flowers in gold thread.
10 Rolls of English broad-cloth.
10 Rolls of French broad-cloth.
18 Flasks of rose-water.
2 "* China boxes," containing various curious devices and designs in fireworks.
10 Carpets of broad-cloth, embroidered with gold lace.
140 Wax candles.
6 Glass candle-shades.
10 Telescopes, small.
1 Telescope, large.
1 Roll of broad-cloth, of different colour on either side.
290 lbs. of sugar-candy.
1 Piece of gold galloon, manufactured at Ispahân, weighing 10 marcs, 1 oz.
1 Piece of silver galloon, manufactured at Ispahân, weighing 4 marcs, 4 oz.
1 Piece of gold French galloon, weighing 15 marcs, 4 oz.
1 Piece of silver French galloon, weighing 9 marcs, 4 oz.
12 Table knives.
7 Small mirrors.
24 Flasks balm cordial.
24 Flasks Imperial water.

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* It cannot exactly be ascertained what these were. They were apparently boxes of fireworks, and are spoken of as "designs in fire." The words within quotation marks are a literal translation of the original.

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1747. The gifts made to M. Khan—(*continued*).

24 Flasks of Hungary water.
1 Calf elephant.
1 Musical box.
1 Table knife, with handle inlaid with gold.
1 Hookah stopper, all gold.
Total articles, valued at * . . . pagodas.

The presents given to Nazim 'Ali 'Khan.

The presents given to Nazîm 'Alî Khân, the younger brother of Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân, were:

1 Double-barrelled gun.
1 Musket.
8 Table knives.
17 Yards of red velvet.
12 Rolls of brocade, with flowers worked in gold.
1 Piece of silver galloon, weighing 4 marcs.
4 Carpets of broad-cloth, embroidered with gold lace.
1 "China box" containing curious devices in fireworks.
15 Yards of green velvet.
2 Rolls of broad-cloth.
1 Piece of gold French galloon, weighing 7 marcs.
1 Piece of galloon, manufactured at Ispahân, weighing 2 marcs, 4 oz.
Total articles, valued at * . . . pagodas.

The visitors depart.

This was how the presents were distributed. Having accepted them, and having arrived at a perfect agreement, the visitors departed at 4, this afternoon.

Letters to M. Khan from his brother.

As His Highness Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân was returning, this evening, to his camp, he met, on the way, some messengers, who handed to him a letter addressed to him by Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. Having

* Blank in original.

read this, he sent it on to the Governor by the men who brought it to him; one of his mace-bearers being deputed to accompany them. The contents of the letter were: "I have recovered from my illness, and am somewhat relieved of the tooth-ache from which I was suffering. But as for you, you went to your brother's house, and remained there these two days enjoying yourself in feasting, and spending your time in various amusements. Two letters have arrived here from the ruling Nawâb at Arcot; one addressed to you, and the other to me. Both of these direct us to return immediately." Having read the letter, the Governor sent it back by the messengers who brought it, with a complimentary one from himself, addressed to Mahfuz Khân. The men were also presented with Rs. 5.

He sends it to the Governor.

It reproaches M. Khan for his visit to Pondichery.

And intimates receipt of orders for immediate return.

Governor returns it, with one from himself.

What remained over from the dinner which was prepared for Mahfuz Khân, before he set out from Pondichery was sufficient in quantity to provide for a hundred people. It was sent to Nâsîr Quli Khân.

Remains of the state dinner sent to N. Quli Khan.

Tuesday, 21st February 1747, or 13th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, M. Delarche and Muhammad Tavakkal were sent to invite Muhammad 'Alî, to come to Pondichery. They set out at 5, and reached the camp, at half-past 9. They had an audience with Muhammad 'Alî, to whom they communicated the invitation. His verbal and written replies were received here, at 4. They were to the effect that he was tormented by tooth-ache, and

Deputation sets out, to invite M. 'Ali Khan to Pondichery.

He replies that he doubts if his health will permit an acceptance

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The messengers mention rumours as to the return to Arcot.

that it was doubtful if he would be able to visit Pondichery. The messengers who brought his reply stated that two rumours were rife in the camp; the one being that both their Highnesses Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân proposed to return to Arcot, by way of Pondichery, and the other that Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, alone, contemplated making this journey; the intention of Maḥfuz Khân being to march straight to Trichinopoly. Everything will be done in accordance with their will and pleasure.

Presents from M. 'Ali Khan for the Governor, etc.

At 5, this evening, M. Delarche and Muḥammad Tavakkal, who had been sent to invite Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to Pondichery, returned. They brought with them presents, from him, to M. Dupleix and others. Those for the Governor were a white horse, and a dress of honour. That for the Deputy Governor was a dress of honour. Those for Madame Dupleix were two satin under-cloths and an upper-cloth, and those for her daughter were an over-cloth and a satin under-cloth. They were all brought, by M. Delarche and Muḥammad Tavakkal, to a garden outside the town, and they sent word, to the Governor of their arrival. He directed that Muḥammad Tavakkal should be left in charge of them, and that M. Delarche, alone, should come to him. As soon as these instructions were conveyed to them, M. Delarche prepared to set out, and Muḥammad Tavakkal was desirous of accompanying him. Just then, I went to see them, and we had a chat, at the conclusion of which

These left in a garden outside the town.

Orders of the Governor regarding them.

we three left the presents where they were, and went to Pondichery. In accordance with the Governor's orders, the native officer and messengers who came in charge of the presents remained with them at my garden, and, on the same authority, provisions and other supplies were sent to them.

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The message delivered by M. Delarche to the Governor was as follows: "Muhammad 'Alî Khân pleads tooth-ache, a swollen jaw, and an attack of fever, as his excuse for not visiting Pondichery. He says, however, that as his elder brother, Mahfuz Khân, came here, concluded a treaty, partook of the hospitality offered to him, and accepted presents, the promises which he made will, without fail, be complied with. He expects that we, as men of honour, will fulfil our conditions, and send the presents intended for Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. On intimation from us that we have forwarded these, and on receipt of an order from the Nawâb to strike his camp, he will do so, and will march away with his followers. He desires that as it was through Muhammad Tavakkal that this treaty was brought about, he should, in recognition of his services, be presented with gold bangles of the value of 200 pagodas, to wear on either wrist, and be granted a title of honour. He also expresses a wish that future negotiations relating to the affairs of Pondichery should be carried on through him, alone." On hearing this, the Governor turned to me, and said: "Was it not yesterday that we gave Muhammad

The former reports to the Governor the excuse of M. 'Ali Khan.

Delivers his message relative to the agreement made with M. Khan.

And conveys a request for recognition of M. Tavakkal's services.

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Governor addresses M.Tavakkal by a title already conferred on him.

Tavakkal a title of honour? How do you pronounce it?" "Salik Dâûd Khân," I replied. The Governor thereupon addressed Muḥammad Tavakkal as "Salik Dâûd Khan," and promised to give him a medal bearing the same inscription as that on a like decoration worn by Kanakarâya Mudali. He gave me orders to have bangles made, at a cost of 200 pagodas, and directed me to communicate this to Muḥammad Tavakkal. I accordingly did so. The Governor then dismissed Muḥammad Tavakkal from his presence, wishing him a good night's rest, and requesting him to return next morning. This done, he asked me what procedure should be followed when bringing the presents into the town, in the morning. I replied that two Councillors, accompanied by musicians, should be deputed to do this. He instructed me to have the necessary arrangements made. I said: "Very well;" and then departed.

He also orders, for him, a pair of bangles.

Procedure to be followed when bringing the presents into the town.

M. Dupleix converses with M. Tavakkal regarding M. Khan's visit.

Yesterday evening, when M. Dupleix returned to his house, after having accompanied Mahfuz Khân to the town-gate, Muḥammad Tavakkal went to see him. The Governor asked him whether Mahfuz Khân had gone away well pleased. He replied that he had not. The Governor was irritated at this, and exclaimed: "If Mahfuz Khân does not withdraw, I shall send soldiers from Pondichery, with orders to attack his camp at Fort St. David, and shoot him and his followers. What do you mean by saying that he went away displeased? Take away

Anger and threats of the Governor.

with you the presents which I intend to give to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. If you do not, I shall, without a moment's delay, order you to be turned out of the town." He then told M. Delarche to interpret this speech to Muhammad Tavakkal, but he stood silent. The Governor repeated his order, but M. Delarche begged to be excused. Thereupon, a mace-bearer was directed to take his hand, and lead him out of sight. M. Delarche then made his submission to the Governor, by consenting to interpret the speech, which he did in a way which toned down its harshness. Muhammad Tavakkal replied, in a submissive manner: "I am your servant. Why are you offended with me?" The Governor was mollified by these words. On this, Muhammad Tavakkal obtained leave from him to depart, and came to me at the areca-nut store-house. He told me what had occurred, and evinced great trepidation. I encouraged him saying: "Do not be alarmed. I will effect peace between you and the Governor. In obedience to his orders, go with M. Delarche to-morrow morning to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Depart without fear, and I will see that he is restored to his usual good humour."

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Peremptory order given, by him, to M. Tavakkal.

M. Delarche begs to be excused translating it.

He, however, finally does so, in a modified form.

Governor mollified by the submissiveness of M. Tavakkal.

Who comes, much alarmed, to diarist.

By whom he is reassured.

I then asked him what Husain Sâhib had written to him. He said that he had been directed to stipulate for the payment of a lakh of rupees to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and for the presentation of gifts, not included in that sum, to Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I remarked: "Although

Diarist asks him what H. Sahib wrote.

His reply.

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1747.

Diarist tells him that he already knew.

you did not tell me this, I nevertheless ascertained that such was the nature of the communication received by you, and informed the Governor of it. I will explain how I divined this. You, yourself, told me that you advised Mahfuz Khân to refrain from further discussion regarding the negotiations, because Husain Ṣâhib had shown you an easy way of escaping out of the difficulty. You may remember that, in your presence, Mahfuz Khân asked me to arrange for the payment of at least two lakhs, and that I told him that it was not possible. He then drew you aside, and asked you to show him Husain Ṣâhib's letter. Putting these things together, I arrived at the conclusion that Husain Ṣâhib was willing to stipulate for the payment of only a lakh of rupees, and I said so to the Governor. It was then that he told you that the letter received by you from Husain Ṣâhib contained an easy solution of the difficulty, and requested you to show it to him." "Indeed!" said he. "Let us not talk further about the matter," I replied, "I will speak to the Governor on your behalf, and restore you to his good graces. You may depart in the morning to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp, with a light heart." Having said this, I sent him away.

Explains how this had come about.

And states why the Governor had asked to see H. Sahib's letter

Diarist again encourages him.

A procession sent to bring the presents from M. 'Ali Khan.

Wednesday, 22nd February 1747, or 14th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following took place to-day: At 9 in the morning, a procession started from Pondichery, to bring, with due ceremony, the presents sent yesterday evening, by Muhammad 'Alî Khân

which had been left at my garden-house. Two Councillors, Muhammad Tavakkal, a Jemadar, and I, went with the procession. The Governor's palanquin and flag were taken with us. The Poligar* and his peons, Mahé sepoys, and musketeers, to the number of sixty or seventy, formed a guard of honour. There were in the procession trumpeters, drummers, and dancing-girls with their musicians. It arrived at my garden. The presents were then placed in the palanquin, and the procession set out on its return. Muhammad Ismail, who came in charge of the gifts, was invited to accompany us. When the procession reached the town-gate, in splendid array, twenty-one guns were fired. On its arrival at the Governor's house, and when the presents were handed over to him, another salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fort.

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Details of those accompanying it.

Presents placed in the Governor's palanquin.

Reception at the town-gate, and the Governor's house.

The following is a description of the gifts. Those for the Governor were a horse, and a dress of honour; for the Deputy Governor, a dress of honour; for Madame Dupleix, two satin under-cloths and one upper-cloth; for her daughter, one upper-cloth.† When these were placed before the Governor, he distributed them to the persons for whom they were intended, retaining, however, that which came for the Deputy Governor. This, it appears, that he will send on to Madras for M. d'Espréménil. Of the

Description of the gifts.

The Governor distributes them.

* Chief of the peons.

† The under-cloth mentioned at page 334 has been omitted here.

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He puts on the turban of his dress of honour, and the Europeans present salute him.

present of the dress of honour made to him, the Governor took only the silk turban, and directed a Muhammadan to tie and adjust it. He then put it on on his head, and the Europeans there assembled defiled before him, saluting him as they did so. He conversed cheerfully with those present, and then addressing the Muhammadan who had brought the presents, accorded him permission to go to his lodgings, and rest. Thereupon, the man took leave, and went to his residence. The Governor then directed that supplies should be sent to the guest. I summoned Parasurâma Pillai, and ordered him to look carefully to providing food for the Muhammadan and his followers. I shall now state the reason why the Governor selected the turban from the presents made to him by Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and put it on his head. He and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân regard one another in the light of brothers; and, as between such close relatives, an interchange of turbans is a matter of course, the Governor put on his head that worn by Muḥammad'Alî Khân.

Bearer of the presents suitably cared for.

Why the Governor put on the turban.

The gifts made to the messenger.

The gifts which were made by the Governor to Muḥammad Ismail, the bearer of the presents from Muḥammad'Alî Khan, were one roll of red broadcloth, four flasks of Hungary water, two pairs of scissors, and two table-knives.

The presents sent to M. 'Ali Khan.

The presents which were despatched to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân were :—

1 Silver-mounted gun.

2 Brace of silver-mounted pistols.

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1747. The presents sent to M. 'Ali Khan—(contd.).

2 Brace of brass-mounted pistols.
20 Yards of green velvet.
1 Gold hilted knife.
1 'China-box,' of curious devices.
4 Carpets of broad-cloth, with spots of gold embroidery.
1 Roll of broad-cloth, of different colour on either side.
2 Bags of coffee beans.
1 Gold seal.
24 Flasks balm cordial.
24 Flasks of Hungary water.
1 Piece of gold Spanish galloon, weighing 7 marcs.
1 Calf elephant.
1 Piece of silver galloon, weighing 2 marcs.
10 Pairs of scissors.
10 Rolls of English broad-cloth.
8 Rolls of French broad-cloth.
1 Double-barrelled gun.
1 Small gun.
44½ Yards of brocade, embroidered with gold.
2 Rolls of red velvet.
187 Flasks of rosewater.
4 Glass candle-shades.
4 Small marine telescopes.
1 Box of sugarcandy.
2 Mirrors.
6 Knives, with tortoise shell handles.
24 Flasks of Imperial water.
1 Piece of nutmeg coloured gold galloon, weighing 12 marcs, 5 oz.
1 Gold bell, weighing 2 marcs.
1 Piece of gold galloon, faint blue, weighing 2 marcs.
1 Box of wax candles.
1 Carpet of broad-cloth, embroidered with lace.
1 Long-tubed marine telescope.

.. Total articles, valued at . . . * pagodas.

* Blank in original.

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The above-mentioned presents have all been duly packed up, and are ready for despatch to Muḥammad 'Alî Khân.

The gifts for Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan.

The presents for Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Ṣâḥib are as follows:—

1 Velvet mattress, covered with sky blue galloon.
3 Pillows, covered with sky blue galloon, to match.
1 Piece of gold galloon, weighing 5 marcs.
1 Piece Spanish gold galloon, weighing 9 marcs, 4 oz.
1 Similar gold galloon, weighing 12 marcs, 4 oz.
20 Yards of blue velvet, embroidered with flowers.
118½ Yards of red velvet.
2 Rolls English red velvet, embroidered with lace.
18 Flasks of rosewater.
4 Rolls of cloth of gold, containing 69¼ yards.
2 Double-barrelled guns }
2 Finely chased guns } making 4 guns in all.
4 Brace of brass-mounted pistols.
4 Travelling carpets of broad-cloth, embroidered with lace.
6 Small marine telescopes.
4 Glass candle-shades }
6 Candle-sticks } making 10 articles in all.
23¼ Yards of Madras broad-cloth, of a different colour on either side.
1 Box of sugarcandy }
6 Table-knives }
12 Pairs of scissors } making 19 articles in all.
12 Small knives.
24 Flasks of balm cordial.
24 Flasks of Hungary water.
1 Gold bell, weighing 10 marcs.
1 Roll of broad-cloth, with spots of gold lace.

20 Rolls of English broad-cloth.
20 Rolls of French broad-cloth.
2 Rosewater flasks, wrought at Manilla, and gilt.
2 Salvers to hold the above, elaborately chased, and triple-footed.
Some piece-goods.

* ... Total articles.

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The gifts for Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan—(*contd.*).

These were the presents which were packed up for despatch to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.

Wednesday, 22nd February 1747, or 14th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following took place this day. Two men, the one named Avây Ṣâḥib, who is the agent of Imâm-Ṣâḥib, and the other Chokkappa Mudali, a Veḷlâzhan of Chêyûr, came to Pondichery. This morning, whilst two members of the Council and I were absent, with musicians, to bring the presents from Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, which were awaiting us at my garden-house outside the town, Chokkappa Mudali and Avây Ṣâḥib went, together, to the Governor's house. They asked the interpreter, Appu Mudali, to obtain for them an interview with M. Dupleix, telling him, at the same time, that they intended to request him to permit them to conduct all their business through him alone. The men, so I was told, presented themselves before the Governor, and saluted him. He inquired what they wanted. They said : " We have been here for nearly a month. Whenever we express a desire to see you, and to

During diarist's absence, two persons seek an interview with the Governor.

Before whom they present themselves.

* Blank in original.

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And prefer a complaint against diarist.

communicate our business to you in person, Ranga Piḷḷai will not permit us to do so. He even pays no attention to our request that he will take us to you, to state our business, and do his best to bring it to a successful issue. We beg that you will permit us to communicate all our affairs to you, through Appu Mudali." The Governor replied:

Governor bids them wait until he returns.

"Wait until Rangappan returns. He has gone to bring some presents which have arrived." Not satisfied with this answer, the men told Appu Mudali to stand in front of the Governor; and when he had done

They, unsuccessfully, attempt to force a hearing.

so, they exclaimed: "Appu Mudali is before you. Communicate your reply to him." The Governor, so I was informed, remained silent. But the men again spoke, and said, "We must return to our country. What are your commands?" The Governor is alleged to have again replied: "Let Rangappan come." They next went to pay their respects to Madame, and having saluted her, returned home.

When diarist returns, the two men visit him, and make a request.

It was after this, that I brought, in great state, the presents from Muḥammad 'Alî Khân; and having delivered them to the Governor, repaired to my areca-nut store-house. Both Avây Ṣâḥib and Chokkappa Mudali came there, immediately, and having paid me the usual compliments, said: "We went to the Governor's house, expecting to find you there, but he appeared before us, and we saluted him. He asked us what we wanted. We requested the Chobdar to interpret for us, and through him, said that it was nearly a month since we had

arrived here, and that we desired to return home soon. He told us that he would send us away to-morrow. We beg that you will despatch our business with the Governor, and send us away." "Very well, I will see about it," said I, and I gave them permission to depart; on which they returned to the house at which they were lodging.

He promises to see to it.

Thursday, 23rd February 1747, or 15th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, Muḥammad Tavakkal came to me, and said: "I have had no sleep for these three nights, and have even had no desire for food; for the instructions conveyed to me in writing by Ḥusain Ṣâḥib expressly state that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân insists on the payment, by the French, of a lakh of rupees, as a present. You will not agree to pay this sum; and when you declare that you will send what presents you see fit, I do not know what to do. The Nawâb first demanded a payment of 15 lakhs—indeed of 20 lakhs. You gave me ground to hope that if he would abate his demand to one lakh, you would accede to it. You even desired me to go at once to Maḥfuz Khân, and invite him to visit Pondichery. You said that his coming would not only confer an honour on the French, but that a personal conference with him would facilitate the conclusion, to the satisfaction of the Nawâb, of the negotiations then pending. But you have deceived me in all this. My honour is lost. The Nawâb sent me because he had great reliance on my diplomatic skill, and also because he felt sure that

M. Tavakkal tells diarist that he is much perturbed by his instructions.

He reminds him of what previously occurred.

Accuses him of breaking faith.

Chap. XLII. — 1747. And being the cause of his dishonour.

I would succeed in obtaining from the French more than was demanded of them. But how can I now present myself before him; how render an account of what I have done! All the misfortune that has befallen me is attributable to you alone."

Diarist reassures him.

These were the terms in which he made known to me his grievances. I however replied: "Fear not. Providence has hitherto befriended you, and will continue to do so to the end. Entertain no misgivings. Take courage. I will see that, in addition to the presents forwarded to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, Mahfuz Khân, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, others are sent to Husain Sâhib, Sampâti Rao, and Anwar Khân. The whole will now amount, more or less, to a lakh of rupees, and your demand will be fully met."

And promises a satisfactory settlement.

M. Tavakkal questions this.

"How do I know," asked he, "that you will give presents to the three men whom you have mentioned?"

Diarist explains the grounds for his statement.

"Well;" said I: "at the time that negotiations had just commenced, the Governor asked me, one day, what sum ought to be paid to the Muhammadans, if they came to terms. I replied: 'What do I know about it, my Lord? You are acquainted with everything, and how can I presume to instruct you? Nevertheless, I will say what occurs to me. I think that we may give them, as a whole, in presents and everything else, a sum of one lakh of rupees. But your Lordship knows best what to do?' The Governor answered: 'You have given me good

advice, and it accords with what I had in my mind' It is on the strength of this that I have told you that the presents to be despatched to the three persons to whom I have referred will make the total value of what is given a lakh of rupees."

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Thereupon, Muhammad Tavakkal accompanied me to the Governor's house, in order to explain the whole matter to him. We took M. Delarche with us. I laid everything clearly before the Governor, and mentioned, also, the anxiety under which Muhammad Tavakkal was labouring.

They personally state matters to the Governor.

He exclaimed: "In what way are we under any obligation to give anything to the Nawâb? Have we caused any loss? Why should we indemnify him? Yet, on the score of longstanding friendship, we gave him some presents. He has no other claim on us."

Who questions any liability.

I met the Governor's objections with well-directed arguments, and succeeded in inducing him to view the matter in a favourable light. He thereupon replied in the following words: "It is of but small consequence if we pay an additional thousand or two of pagodas. We will take care that the affair is settled in a manner agreeable to the Nâwab."

Diarist induces him to increase the value of the presents.

He then turned to Muhammad Tavakkal, and said: "Go to the camp, and show Mahfuz Khân a copy of the list of presents selected for Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân; ask him if he desires anything further, and let me know what he says." He added: "When you go to Mahfuz Khân, tell him

Governor directs M. Tavakkal, to see M. Khan regarding the presents for the Nawab.

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He, also, gives him a message to M. Khan.

that we will send to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, Sampâti Rao, and Anwar Khân, presents of value similar to that of those given to him, and that we will make up the total amount to a lakh of rupees. Request him to move his camp, and see that he does so. We shall expect you on Sunday, when we intend to celebrate a fête."

Muḥammad Tavakkal took leave, and departed to his residence.

M. Tavakkal departs with the presents for M. Khan, and his brother.

In accordance with the arrangement made, Muḥammad Tavakkal left for the camp, taking with him the presents for Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. He also carried with him the list of those which were being packed up for Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Sâḥib.

M. 'Ali Khan sends presents to diarist.

The following occurred to-day. His Highness Muḥammad 'Alî Khân graciously sent me some gifts: to wit; a commander's sword, of Kuppam workmanship, which he used always to carry in his hand, a silk turban, a coat, and a roll of gold brocade. The sword was universally admired, and was pronounced to be of excellent quality. Having directed that these presents should be taken to the Governor, I went to apprise him of the receipt of them. He was pleased to hear the news. In the meantime, the articles were brought in, and placed before him. He took them, and handed them to me himself, congratulating me in French. I returned thanks, accepted the presents, and repaired to my areca-nut store-house.

Who has them taken to the Governor.

By whom they are handed to him, with congratulations.

Besides the events which I have mentioned above, another took place, on the 14th Mâsi [22nd February], and it was as follows. Madanânda Paṇḍit came to me, and said: "Madame Dupleix sent for me, and spoke to me of certain matters. She bound me, in the name of the Virgin Mary, to secrecy." I asked him what she had told him. He replied: "Lend me your ear, and I will disclose to you what she said. It was: 'Rangappan is a very bad man. He is in debt. He is anxious to clear off his liabilities before the Madras merchants are summoned to Pondichery, and before this treaty with the Nawâb is concluded. He knows, full well, that the Governor entertains the opinion that he is a truthful man, and one who is devoted to him. Taking advantage of this, he tells lies to him. He has outwitted the Muhammadan envoy who came from Arcot. By telling one thing to him, and another to the Governor, and by pretending that the Governor did not fall in with the views of the deputy, he has induced the Muhammadan army to encamp at Tirukkânji. I know all his crooked ways. I have made many inquiries, and will expose him in a few days time.' She asked me what I knew about the negotiations in which you were concerned, and I replied: 'Madame, do you think it possible for Rangappan to enrich himself by his intrigues, to the extent of lakhs of rupees? Is the Governor to be hood-winked by him to such a degree? You know, perfectly well, what amount it

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Madananda Pandit tells diarist of an interview with Mme. Dupleix.

In the course of which she spoke very ill of diarist.

Said that he had hood-winked both the Muhammadan envoy, and Governor.

And expressed her intention of exposing him.

He tells diarist what he said in view to defend him.

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is intended giving to the Muhammadans. That sum is not even to be paid in cash, but in the form of presents. These will be delivered into the hands of the messengers by the Governor, in person. Those who are to receive them will thereafter take delivery, according to the lists sent to them. M. Delarche acts, in this business, as the translator in Persian, and he has all the interpreting to himself. Rangappan has only to deliver the letters, as the Governor directs him, and I cannot see that he does anything more.' To this speech of mine, Madame Dupleix replied: 'You know nothing of the matter. I have made proper inquiries, and have acquainted myself with everything.' She desired me to let her know, from time to time, all that occurs, and she strictly bade me not to mention to you what she had said. She also cautioned me not to divulge to Chinna Mudali what had passed, from which I infer that he has been bearing tales against you. However, I request that you will keep the whole affair secret." I said: "Why should I divulge it to another?"; and then I continued, "I promise not to reveal what you have told me. The Governor has been here for a long while; indeed, for the past five years. Kanakarâya Mudali died a twelve month ago, and during the previous four years, whilst he was yet alive, I had the sole conduct of everything. Many treaties were concluded, and many disputes settled during this time. If I had wished to enrich myself, I could easily have amassed

States that Mme. Dupleix adhered to what he had alleged.

And bade him say nothing to diarist or C. Mudali.

Diarist promises to maintain secrecy.

Asserts his complete honesty.

a lakh of pagodas. But, up to now, God has not filled me with such a desire; and I do not know how He will deal with me hereafter. Madame is welcome to expose me at once, as she threatens to do."

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And says that Madame is welcome to carry out her threat.

Madanânda Pandit replied: "Madame would have accused you if this negotiation with Mahfuz Khân had miscarried. But as, by the favour of Providence, the transaction has been successfully concluded, she can do nothing harmful to you. The faces of those who predicted your failure have now become black."

Madananda Pandit points out that she can do nothing.

I exclaimed: "So long as I feel that I am discharging my duty to my God, and endeavouring to promote the glory of the Governor, what do I care for what people say against me? The sages have said: 'If you have money in your waist cloth, you may be afraid by the way.' Well: is not that saying true?"

Diarist's reply.

I may here record that, a month ago, Madame was continually requesting me to keep her fully informed of the progress of the negotiations with the Muhammadans. But the Governor had enjoined on me the strictest secrecy concerning those matters. He reposes in me the fullest confidence, and communicates to me every secret affair, and this being so, how can I, without sinning against God, reveal such confidences to another? That was my first thought. In the second place, I considered how grave the political issues involved were, and

He records how Mme. Dupleix had pressed him for certain information.

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How, although realising the risks, he resolved not to give it.

how injudicious it would be in me to disclose what occurred. I therefore determined to keep my own counsel. I knew that Madame would be exceedingly angry, and would be vindictive enough to fabricate false charges against me, and to repeat them to the Governor; although she was fully aware that such accusations would have no weight with him. I also knew that she would even devise means to do me harm with the Governor, by instigating the Europeans who had access to him, to carry false tales against me. My resolution, however, was firmly taken. I determined, come what might, not to swerve from my duty to the Governor under whom I had taken service, and to whom I had promised obedience Whenever Madame asked me for information, I used to tell her that I would communicate it to her, by and by. She imagined that I kept things very close because I was reaping a rich harvest; and the idea seized her that she, too, might come in for her share. If she had had any knowledge of the matter, she would have thought differently. But I put my trust in Providence, and kept my own counsel. In reply to the questions that Madame put me, I told her what everybody might have known, but never any real secret. That was her first ground of offence against me. The second was as follows:

How he effected this.

And how he never imparted to her any real secret.

As the Governor was constantly urging me to invite the merchants of Madras to settle in Pondichery, I not only sent messengers to them to seek

them out, wherever they had betaken themselves to, but also wrote letters to them. Madame thought that I was enriching myself by carrying on these negotiations, and she was anxious to supplant me in my supposed acquisition of wealth, and to keep it all for herself. Moreover, her mind was disturbed, day and night, by the thought that Madras—the city of Kubera *—had been despoiled of its riches, and that nothing had fallen to her share, although every one who went there had picked up ten thousand, twenty-thousand, a lakh, or even two lakhs of rupees. Such being the greed that filled her soul, it appeared to her that it was not advantageous to remain inactive in these troublous times, and so, calculating that if she could but rid herself of me, by depriving me of all communication with the Governor, she would have her own way, she has undertaken this crusade against me, and employs these means to injure me with the Governor, hoping that those who have access to him will convey to him the tales which she is busy promulgating against me. About ten days ago, she sent Appu to tell me that all the information that I was giving the Governor was nothing but a pack of lies, without an iota of truth in them; and that she would make a report to him against me. To this, I sent a verbal reply, intimating that if she suspected me, she was welcome to make a thorough inquiry, and that she would then come to think differently of me.

He refers to othe matters which excited he cupidity.

And induced her to intrigue to harm him with the Governor.

He cites a recent instance of her vindictiveness.

* The God of Wealth.

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Expresses the idea that Madananda Pandit may be inciting her against him.

Her present line of conduct, will but tend to cast discredit on the Governor. Let us, however, see what happens. It may be that Madanânda Paṇḍit, himself, has had a share in inciting Madame against me, by carrying tales to her. I think this quite likely, for he is a thick friend of Chinna Mudali, whom he is anxious to see appointed Chief Dubash. After all, what can he have to say against me? It is only if I afford him occasion, by my conduct, that he can well do so. But I can conjecture what he will say. It will be that, in some matters, I act according to the Governor's directions, and, in others, follow my own views, and he will seek to injure me by insinuations with regard to the latter. But I rely on the justice of God. Whatever my enemies may say, truth will prevail. As God is my judge, I act honestly before him. In these negotiations with the Muhammadans, my sole object was to bring everything to a satisfactory conclusion, and to win a good reputation for the Governor, as well as for myself. With this purpose in view, I spent even my own money. I passed sleepless nights. My whole thoughts were occupied in planning how to bring about peace with the Muhammadans. God knows, and the Governor and I know, how I exerted myself in this matter. No one else can form any idea on this subject. As a consequence of my efforts, the Governor has acquired immense credit.

And asseverates his absolute honesty of purpose.

Two men ask the Governor for broad-cloth.

At noon, both Avây Sâḥib and Chokkappa Mudali went to the Governor, and asked him for

broad-cloth. He told them to take French broad-cloth. Chokkappa Mudali whispered to the Muhammadan, desiring him to ask for English material. The Governor observed this, and addressing him in great wrath, exclaimed: "You are a mischief-maker. You are a great rogue. I will have you turned out." Thereupon, Chokkappa Mudali held his peace. The Governor then signed an order on M. Dulaurens for the delivery to them of broad-cloth, to the value of Rs. 30,000, and for the payment of Rs. 30,000 in cash. On receiving this, they took leave, and went their way.

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One of them excites his wrath.

He, however, signs a large order for both cloth and cash.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FROM FEBRUARY 24TH, TO FEBRUARY 26TH, 1747.

M. Khân writes regarding a missing gift—M. Tavakkal reports that the brothers were not satisfied with their presents—But, on his remonstrating, agreed not to ask for more—He states that they are returning to Arcot—Governor greatly pleased—M.' Alî Khân writes. accepting the presents—In his reply, Governor urges him to visit Pondichery—Rejoicings at Madras, in honour of the treaty with the Nawâb, ordered—M. Tavakkal reports that the Muhammadans are withdrawing—Governor delighted, and orders presents to the messengers—He directs diarist to write to the Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam, for 500 men—What Rangappa Nâyakkan said to M. Khân and M. 'Alî Khân—Their reply—They promise to ask the French not to molest Fort St. David—Diarist conjectures an attack on Fort St. David—He arranges for the despatch of certain letters from the Governor—These give a false account of what occurred between the French and the sons of the Nawâb—And advise the delivery of certain cloth and cash—M. Tavakkal, and V. Subbaiyan, return—Report the retirement of the Muhammadans—And bring certain dresses of honour—Diarist takes M. Tavakkal to the Governor—Who is much pleased, and directs that bangles and a robe be made for him—He also appoints the next Monday to be a festival—Details of the arrangements ordered—What the Governor told diarist, before M. Tavakkal returned—Conversation regarding M. Tavakkal's visiting M. Delarche before the Governor—Diarist's remarks as to intrigues which have been going on—Governor's reply—Diarist learns that Madame Dupleix has made certain inquiries—And hearing that the Muhammadans had not gone, accuses him to the Governor of double-dealing—Diarist sets the conversation with him, previously noted, down to this cause—Banner of the Nawâb brought to Pondichery, in view to its being hoisted at Fort St. George—The bearers ordered to halt outside the town—Governor hands diarist a medal for M. Tavakkal—And directs the issue of invitations to witness the presentation of it—Diarist gives orders as to decorating the town, etc.—He records reflections with regard to himself—Refers to the defeat of M. Khân—Indulges in much self commendation regarding the negotiations arising from this—And claims for himself an unrivalled reputation—He then quotes what he fancies others say of him—What he imagines the Nizâm did on receiving the reports concerning him—What, the public exclaimed, on reading the accounts of him, circulated by order of the Nizâm—And their opinion as to how his reputation has arisen—The contest between the English and French in India then retold as follows—

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The military strength of Madras—The arrival of a fleet of English men-of-war—The capture, by it, of French ships—The refusal to restore them—Preparations by the English for war—What the French thereupon thought—Their views as to Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai—They move the Nawâb, and Nizâm, to interfere—But meet with refusal—A. Ranga Piḷḷai and the Governor consult, and decide to prepare for war—The French surprise and capture Madras—The English induce the Nawâb to aid them—Maḥfuz Khân besieges Madras—The French send away their spoil, and destroy the English fleet—They attack and defeat Maḥfuz Khân, at Mylapore—And after seizing much booty, pillage his camp—Maḥfuz Khân vows to take Pondichery—His father attempts to dissuade him—But does so in vain—The preparations made for the expedition—The troops composing it—The English auxiliary force at Fort St. David—Muhammadans utterly routed by the French—What M. Khân subsequently said to the English—The reply which they made—A second advance on Pondichery by Maḥfuz Khân and his brother—The action taken by A. Ranga Piḷḷai, to thwart them—What M. Khân said on hearing of this—He sends M. Tavakkal to open negotiations with A. Ranga Piḷḷai—The reply which he received—M. Tavakkal reports this to his master—And returns to Pondichery, with an invitation to Ranga Piḷḷai—Who asks permission of the Governor to accept it—Grant of this demurred to—Ranga Piḷḷai persists in his request—Which is then complied with—What M. Khân said, on hearing that he was coming—The interview between them—M. Khân makes gifts to Ranga Piḷḷai, and accompanies him to Pondichery—The effect of this on either party—Ranga Piḷḷai brings about peace, and sends M. Khân away with many presents—Diarist writes that such was the public talk regarding him—His belief as to the extension of his reputation—He attributes it all to the grace of God—What, according to diarist, M. Khân said in commendation of him—The imaginary reply made by M. Dupleix—Concluding remarks of diarist—Report that M. Tavakkal received a letter from the Nawâb—Alleged contents of this—What the Nawâb is reported to have written to his sons—Statement regarding the Muhammadan forces, made by a courier.

Friday, 24th February, 1747, or 16th Mâsi of Akshaya.—To-day, a letter was received from Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân. The contents of it were: "When the presents were brought here by Muḥammad Tavakkal, they were checked with the list sent. Only a marine telescope was missing. It appears that this was left at Pondichery. Please forward

M. Khan writes regarding a missing gift.

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it." The Governor made inquiries, and the article having been found, it was sent with a written reply.

M. Tavakkal reports that the brothers were not satisfied with their presents.

I also received a letter from Muhammad Tavakkal. It said: "When Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad Alî saw the list of the presents assigned to Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, they were not satisfied. They spoke to each other on the subject, and were much vexed. They asked me if more should not be sent. I said to Mahfuz Khân: 'You went to Pondichery, and spoke with the Governor. You came to terms with him, and agreed to accept the gifts specified. It is now not advisable to ask for more. It will not do us any good, and may do us harm.' They both agreed with me, and ordered that the presents should be despatched. The two brothers are setting out for Arcot, to-morrow. After they leave, I shall return to Pondichery." When I interpreted the contents of the letter to the Governor, he was greatly pleased, and said to me: "To-day, we have accomplished our desires. All your previous exertions, Rangappa, have only this day been crowned with success," and it is only to-day that my mind is at rest. Besides the letters, mentioned above, there was one addressed to the Governor by Muhammad 'Ali Khan. It ran: "I accept, with every good feeling, the presents which you have forwarded to me. Amongst them, there is a box containing strange and wonderful figures, which is out of order. I send it with the request

But, on his remonstrating, agreed not to ask for more.

He states that they are returning to Arcot.

Governor greatly pleased.

M. 'Ali Khan writes, accepting the presents.

that it may be repaired, and returned. I also beg that another box may be supplied." This letter was couched in very courteous terms indeed. Finding that it was not possible to have the box set right, the Governor substituted another for it. In his reply, he expressed regret that he was unable to send an additional one as he had no more, and he urged Muhammad 'Alî Khân to visit Pondichery. He also sent a letter to Muhammad Tavakkal, asking him to bring Muhammad 'Alî Khân soon.

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In his reply, Governor urges him to visit Pondichery.

Saturday, 25th February 1747, or 17th Mâsi of Akshaya.—At 4 this afternoon, the Governor wrote a letter to M. d' Espréménil, desiring him to celebrate at Madras, on Monday next, with rejoicings of the same nature as those at Pondichery, the conclusion of a treaty between him and the Nawâb. He gave me the letter to send by post, with instructions that the runners should deliver it at Madras, by to-morrow evening. I accordingly despatched it.

Rejoicings, at Madras, in honour of the treaty with the Nawab, ordered.

At 9 this morning, a letter to the Governor, and another to me, both sent by Muhammad Tavakkal, arrived from the camp. He wrote to say that the Muhammadans had struck their tents, and were moving away, with their followers. My spies also brought tidings that both Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân proposed to march by way of Porto Novo and Chidambaram, and that the Muhammadan banners had already been sent forward, and set up at Tiruviti, Panruti, and Kirambâlaiyûr. When I conveyed these tidings to the Governor, his delight

M. Tavakkal reports that the Muhammadans are withdrawing.

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Governor delighted and orders presents to the messengers.

was unbounded. He ordered that a present, of Rs. 15, should be given to Muḥammad Tavakkal's messenger, and another, of Rs. 3, to the Company's peon who brought the news; and that the amount required for this purpose should be procured by a draft on Parasurâma Piḷḷai. He continued to converse cheerfully, and afterwards beckoned me to him, and directed me to write to the Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam, asking him to send a force of 500 men. I wrote and despatched a letter in accordance with his instructions.

He directs diarist to write, to the Poligar of Vetta-valam, for 500 men.

When Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân were about to set out on their journey, Rangappa Nâyakkan, the interpreter at Fort St. David, presented himself—so it was reported—before them, and cried out, in a piteous tone: "Up to now, we were relying on you. If you abandon us after having extended your protection to us for so long, and do so just at the time when we are about to receive a reinforcement of ships, what are we to do?" They replied: "We cannot help it. We have endeavoured to befriend you, in every way. You told us that you were daily expecting the arrival of the ships. We waited patiently, but none came.

What Rangappa Nayakkan said to M. Khan and M. 'Ali Khan.

Their reply.

"All your utterances have proved false; there is no truth in any of them, and we cannot rely on your words. On our part, we have expended immense sums of money, in maintaining an army. What do you wish us to do? We will, however, write to the Governor Ṣâḥib of Pondichery, asking him not to

They promise to ask the French not to molest Fort St. David.

molest Fort St. David." Having thus spoken, they took their departure.

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As the Governor directed me, to-day, to write to the Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam for troops, I conjecture that he intends an immediate attack on Fort St. David. We must await the course of events.

Diarist conjectures an immediate attack on Fort St. David.

To-day, I delivered to Avây Ṣâhib three letters; one to Nâṣîr Jang, another to Imâm Ṣâhib, and the third to Raghôji Bhônsla. These had been written in Persian, in the name of the Governor, and I instructed him to have them sent to the persons to whom they were addressed. The letters stated that Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Ali Khân, the sons of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, who had advanced against Pondichery, had, of their own accord, sued for peace, and that we had agreed to their terms because they were the subjects of the Nizâm, whom we wished to please by our conduct. The letters also advised the delivery of broad-cloth, to the value of Rs. 30,000, and payment of Rs. 30,000, in cash, according to the instructions of Imâm Ṣâhib; and also the return of the telescope sent by Nâṣîr Jang for repair, which I had delivered to Avây Ṣâhib, with instructions to have it forwarded to its destination.

He arranges for the despatch of certain letters from the Governor.

These give a false account of what occurred between the French, and the sons of the Nawab.

And advise the delivery of certain cloth and cash.

At 4 this afternoon, Muḥammad Tavakkal and our vakîl, Subbaiyan, returned from the camp.

M. Tavakkal, and V. Subbaiyan, return.

They stated that they set out only after Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân had struck their tents, and had marched with their men from Koṇḍûr Tope, where they had been encamped. They also

Report the retirement of the Muhammadans.

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And bring certain dresses of honour.

said that Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, had, each, entrusted to them, before their departure, a dress of honour for M. d'Espréménil, the Governor of Madras, and with it, a letter to him. I took Muḥammad Tavakkal to the Governor, and placing the letter and the dresses of honour in his hands, informed him that Muḥammad Tavakkal had brought them. He then repeated to the Governor all the complimentary expressions used by Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, and told him that he had returned after the Muhammadan army had marched out of the camp occupied by it. The Governor was highly pleased, and directed me to have gold bangles and a robe made for presentation to Muhammad Tavakkal. He further instructed me to cause it to be proclaimed in the town, by beat of tom-tom, that Monday should be observed as a festival. He also directed that all the streets should be watered, flags and plantain trees being set up at suitable intervals along them, that the houses should be lit up, that there should be bon-fires in the streets, that the ramparts should be illuminated, and that there should be a display of fire-works. He desired me to make all the necessary arrangements for celebrating the day with due pomp, and I accordingly told the Nayinâr what he had to do, and also gave instructions to Chinna Parasurâma Pillai, as to the illuminations and fire-works.

Diarist takes M. Tavakkal to the Governor.

Who is much pleased and directs that bangles and a robe be made for him.

He also appoints the next Monday to be a festival.

Details of the arrangements ordered.

Before Muḥammad Tavakkal returned, and communicated his news to the Governor, the latter told

me that he had heard that, after Mahfuz Khân had moved out, Muhammad 'Alî Khân had set fire to the camp, and that of the two, only Mahfuz Khân had departed. To this, I replied: "Our peons, who were there, have stated otherwise. If the facts are as you say, they must have lied. Muhammad Tavakkal and our vakîl, Subbaiyan, have just arrived. When they make their report, you will learn the truth." The Governor asked me whether Muhammad Tavakkal had returned. I replied that he as well as our vakîl, Subbaiyan, had done so. He asked me why I had not brought the former to him. I answered: "As soon as he arrived, M. Delarche sent messengers to him, desiring him to attend at his residence. We shall have to ascertain the news from him when he receives permission to come here." He asked me what business Muhammad Tavakkal had to go to M. Delarche's house. I replied: "This is not the only intrigue that is in progress. There are many others that have been set on foot, but they are too numerous to mention. I did not inform you of these because I was unwilling to vex you by constant allusion to them. My only desire was to bring this treaty to a satisfactory issue, and I had no care for what people said, or did. As I had solely that object in view, these intrigues have not come to light, and the business on hand has been successfully completed. It is only now that, owing to various causes, they are becoming known." The Governor smiled and

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What the Governor told diarist, before M. Tavakkal returned.

Conversation regarding M. Tavakkal's visiting M. Delarche before the Governor.

Diarist's remarks as to intrigues which have been going on.

Governor's reply.

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said: "It is true: I, also, know it. I will put every thing straight in four or five days' time."

Diarist learns that Mme. Dupleix has made certain inquiries.

Madame Dupleix, so I heard, with a view to discredit me, sent for Chinna Mudali, and asked him whether Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî had departed, or not. He thereupon sent a man, named Vîravukkalaiyan, to the camp, to ask Sivanâga Reḍḍi whether they had gone, and on his return, reported that, in reply to his inquiry, Sivanâga Reḍḍi had told him that Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Ali Khân had not started, but were there still. Chinna Mudali communicated this to Madame, and she went to the Governor, and said, "Rangappan makes false reports to you, and cheats and plunders you. The Muhammadans, so I hear, have not yet gone. Although this is the case, Rangappan tells you that they have." It was in consequence of this, that the Governor had the conversation with me as above related. Madanânda Paṇḍit, who is engaged as a Munshi to write Persian letters, is active in bearing tales against me, partly to Madame, and partly to Chinna Mudali.

And hearing that the Muhammadans had not gone accused him to the Governor of double dealing.

Diarist sets the conversation with him, previously noted, down to this cause.

Sunday, 26th February 1747, or 18th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following occurred on this date:

Banner of the Nawab, brought to Pondichery, in view to its being hoisted at Fort St. George.

It will be remembered that, some time ago, it was agreed that the flag of the Nawâb should be kept flying over Fort St. George, for eight days. Six horsemen and ten peons, carrying with them a banner, came this morning to Pondichery from the camp, in view to proceed to Madras, and

give effect to this arrangement. The Governor directed that they should halt without the town walls, and that supplies should be sent for their use. They accordingly abide outside. The bearers ordered to halt outside the town.

This morning, the Governor gave me a gold French medal, in a little less size than a half dollar, and set with small brilliants, which was intended for bestowal on Muhammad Tavakkal *alias* Salik Dâûd Khân; and directed me to have it suspended from a double chain of gold. He said: "To-morrow morning, all the Europeans will come here. I intend then to present this, in public, to Salik Dâûd Khân." I promised that I would have it ready by that time. He then ordered me to invite people of every class, to attend his levée. I answered that I had already done so. He said: "You had better give them one hundred mohurs, and tell them to present the same to me, as if they were doing so voluntarily." I replied that I would, and retired. I then issued instructions to proclaim, by beat of tom-tom, that the streets should be decorated, adorned with flags, and illuminated at night with bon-fires and lamps. I also sent messengers to summon people, of all conditions, to attend the morning levée of the Governor. Governor hands diarist a medal for M. Tavakkal. And directs the issue of invitations to witness the presentation of it. Diarist gives instructions as to decorating the town, &c.

It having, by the grace of God, fallen to my lot to conduct the affairs of the Company, I have spent my days and nights in thought, and have counselled the Governor on all manner of subjects, with the result that he has acted on my advice. By the decree He records reflections, with regard to himself.

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of the Ruler of all sentient beings, the actual head of this kingdom attacked us, and was defeated. He voluntarily sued for peace, and coming to the Governor, begged him to arrange it. This was to the glory of the French. A treaty was afterwards effected. I was with the Governor when the Muhammadan envoy made his request; but he was obliged to agree to receive even less than one-tenth of the amount for which he asked. The Muhammadans carried away their presents. When the delegate treated with the Governor for terms, my exertions in the matter, my conduct of the business, and the skill and dexterity which I displayed in the negotiations, all became known to the Governor, and the public. He received presents which added to his glory. No one has acquired the reputation that I have; and my fame is in the mouths of ambassadors at courts, Governors of provinces, men of rank, and all people living within 300 leagues of this; from Delhi in the north, to Malayâḷam in the south; and from the eastern to the western sea. They all say: "We have never seen, or heard of, a man equal to Ânanda Rangappan in diplomatic skill, in keenness of intellect, or in boldness of conception; or, in fact, in any other qualification whatsoever." All this was communicated to the Nizâm, at great length, through the medium of reports from the public news writers, and confidential correspondents in Arcot; and he not only ordered those of the former of these who were attached to

Indulges in much self-commendation regarding the negotiations arising from this.

And claims for himself an unrivalled reputation.

He then quotes what he fancies others say of him.

What he imagines the Nizam did on receiving reports concerning him.

his Court, to place it on record, but directed them to send innumerable reports to Delhi, Satâra, Bengal, Benares, and other places. The Governors, Amîrs, Viziers, Amaldârs, Subhadars, Sowcars, and all the people of those countries, read these, and, with unbounded astonishment, exclaimed, as follows:

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What the public exclaimed on reading the accounts of him, circulated by order of the Nizam.

"We have never before seen such skill displayed, and have never even heard of the like. In every country there are some who are fitted for war, and others for carrying on negotiations for peace. When two parties are at variance with one another, the weaker sends a mediator who, by holding out to the stronger a prospect of gain, succeeds in effecting peace. This is not a particularly wonderful thing to do. But the marvel is that Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, a man residing at Pondichery, and of extraordinary qualifications, has brought about peace between the Subhadar of Arcot, and the French, against whom the armies of the Muhammadans and their allies advanced in formidable array. Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, however, has succeeded in effecting peace between them, as easily as one would remove a hair caught in a lump of butter, or as the dews are dissolved before the rays of the morning sun; and he has thus acquired such repute that it has spread throughout all lands. This is how his reputation has arisen. There was, in Europe, war for a long time between the kings of England and France. This led to the two hostile nations capturing ships belonging to each other which were

And their opinion as to how his reputation has arisen.

The contest between the English and French in India, then retold as follows.

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either anchored in the ports of their adversaries, or sailing on the high seas. Now, on this coast, the city of Madras was in the hands of the English. Its reputation had even reached the Emperor of Delhi; and many rich bankers and Europeans resided there. It was amply provided with all the munitions of war; such as artillery, powder, cannon balls, and rockets; and if even the Emperor had directed his arms against it, he would have been repulsed. This English city is near the French possessions. The English ships, also, were constantly cruising, in great numbers, in these waters. Such being the condition of affairs, the king of England, in view to make them more powerful, sent out to his people here, a fleet of his own men-of-war, provided with all warlike material, and manned by skilful sailors. They were coated with iron armour,* and joined those of the English cruising in this neighbourhood. The men on board the French ships had not heard that war had broken out, as they were engaged in long voyages to distant countries, for trading purposes. Whilst they were engaged in their business, and in no anticipation of danger, the English fleet came to the places where the ships were, and captured and plundered them. The prizes were taken, by the English, to Madras. The French at Pondichery thereupon asked them the reason for the seizure

The military strength of Madras.

Arrival of a fleet of English men-of-war.

The capture, by it, of French ships.

* Winslow renders the Tamil word here used, as "*armour*" or "*coat of mail.*" "Iron" is prefixed to it. The flight of fancy which Ranga Piḷḷai commences on page 365 continues to nearly the end of page 382.

of their ships. They replied in writing: "We have not taken them. The royal fleet which came from England, seized and delivered them to us. We cannot hand the prizes over to you, without the permission of the officers of that fleet, and of His Majesty, our king." The English, fearing the consequences of their temerity, armed Fort St. George and its ramparts, cleared the ground about it, wrote to England for a reinforcement of 10,000 soldiers; and also fortified Fort St. David. Seeing the preparations that were being made, the French thought: "As the English at Madras are powerful, they have sent us this reply. Our own country is very far off. Our king does not know that our ships have been taken. We have only a small force here. We do not know how we are to continue our trade by sea. Madras abounds in men of position, and great traders belonging to various nations. Here we have only Ânanda Rangappan. Let us not, however, lose heart. The same God who has, at this time, given the English in this country many subjects, and great wealth, has endowed us, also, with two qualities—courage, and military valour. The intellects of the great men and merchants of Madras glitter only as the stars, but the intellect, dexterity, skill, and resolution, of our Rangappan shine, in all respects, like the splendour of the sun. God has given him to us." In this way, the French comforted themselves, and gained courage. Thereupon, they wrote to Anwar-ud-dîn

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The refusal to restore them.

Preparations by the English for war.

What the French thereupon thought.

Their views as to Ananda Ranga Pillai.

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Khân, who had been appointed by the Nizâm as Subahdar of Arcot, in the following terms: "We and the English at Madras, have erected factories in your territories, and have been carrying on trade, much to your advantage. Now, the English have captured a ship which came to our factory, for the account of Imâm Ṣâḥib. Does it not rest with you to inquire into this matter, and restore our property to us?" They also addressed the Nizâm, to the same effect. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, powerless to order the English at Madras to restore to the French the prize which they had taken, and seeing the power and strength which the English possessed there, wrote to the French at Pondichery, the following reply: "This grievance is one too serious for me to deal with. You must take the matter into your own hands, and do as you think best." Thereupon, an individual at Pondichery named Ânanda Rangappan, and the Governor of Pondichery, laid their heads together. In this consultation, the Governor shone like the sun, and Ânanda Rangappan like the splendour of the sun; and it was decided to get ready for war. Preparations were accordingly made; and eight French ships were ordered from Mascareigne. As a lion rushes into a herd of elephants, so the French hurled themselves against Madras, surrounded the fort, and in one day astonished and bewildered the Governor, Members of the Council, bankers, great men, and all the people who were there. They filled the town

They move the Nawab, and Nizam, to interfere.

But meet with refusal.

A. Ranga Pillai and Governor consult, and decide to prepare for war.

The French surprise and capture Madras.

with fire by shelling it, and by noon on the second day of their attack—the 9th Purattâsi of this year [21st September 1746]—they captured the fort, planted their flag on the ramparts, took possession of the whole city, and shone in Madras like the sun, which spreads its beams over the whole world, and, by its splendour, banishes all the starry hosts of heaven, which are then hidden from mortal gaze. Some of the merchants and principal men of Madras fled from the city, and hid themselves in jungles, and in mountains. From their retreats, they sent messengers to Arcot, asking the Nawâb for help. They promised to pay him large sum of money, for his own use, as, also, for the maintenance of the army sent to their aid. They entreated him to collect his troops, and those of the poligars, and they promised that they, too, would fight, side by side, with them. The Nawâb was influenced by the offer of money, and forgetting the neutrality which he had stated in his letter to the French at Pondichery that it was his resolve to maintain, sent Maḥfuz Khân with a large force. He marched against Madras, and besieged it. The French sent to their own country, by the eight ships which they had there, the spoil obtained at Madras. These attacked the English men-of-war, captured two or three of them, and sank the rest. Thus, they left the English not a single ship on the high seas. The French also overcame and subjugated the Dutch, who were the allies of the English,

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The English induce the Nawab, to aid them.

Mahfuz Khan besieges Madras.

The French send away their spoil, and destroy the English fleet.

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They attack and defeat Mahfuz Khan, at Mylapore.

and seized their vessels. Mahfuz Khân, the eldest son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, was encamped at Mylapore with 6,000 horse, 30,000 foot, 2,000 rocket men, 15,000 match-lock men, and 30 pieces of artillery. He had entrenched his camp strongly, and was very vigilant. A French force, consisting of 500 men, marched from Pondichery to Madras, a distance of 12 leagues, and attacked the camp, at sunrise, with great slaughter. In about half an hour, the whole Muhammadan army was completely dispersed. The French killed vast numbers of men and horses. They seized the camels, the kettle-drums and trumpets, the Muhammadan banner, and the palanquin of His Highness, as also his turban and treasury. They next pillaged the camp. They pursued the fugitives to a distance of three-fourths of a league, dispersing them in every direction, and causing them to fly for their lives. They then entered Madras, in triumph. Mahfuz Khân, mad with defeat, swore that because the French had worsted even the forces of the Emperor in fight, he would not rest until he had taken Pondichery from them. Without a turban on his head, he went, with his brother Muhammad 'Alî, to their father Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and intimated to him his intention of seizing Pondichery. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân replied: "The French there are very bad men, and of a revengeful spirit. There is associated with them one Ânanda Ranga Pillai, who s a jewel amongst men. It is, therefore, impos-

And, after seizing much booty, pillage his camp.

M. Khan vows to take Pondichery.

His father attempts to dissuade him.

sible, even for the Emperor, to overcome Pondichery. Why do you rashly contemplate taking that city? If that man, Ânanda Ranga Pillai, directed his attention to the capture of Arcot, he would effect it in two Indian hours, but he refrains from doing so because he considers that to seize it would be unjust, and that God would not approve of it. I therefore consider you would not be acting wisely, if you attacked Pondichery. So Anwar-ud-dîn Khân urged his son, in various ways, to desist from his purpose; but Mahfuz Khân, who was brooding over his shame, would not accept his advice. He replied: "I am determined either to conquer Pondichery, or die. If you will not permit me to attack it, I will, this very instant, throw a rag over my shoulders, turn fakir, and set out for Mecca." "If that be so," said his father; "do as you like." Thereupon, Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad'Alî Khân collected all the horsemen in Arcot, as well as the poligars' forces, and a large body of infantry, and, marching with these, encamped to the west of Cuddalore and Fort St. David. The army consisted of 6,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 20,000 followers of the poligars. The people of Fort St. David also joined the Muhammadan camp, and reinforced it. Whilst the Muhammadan army was encamped to the westward, 2,000 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys assembled to the eastward, in Fort St. David, with artillery. A thousand French soldiers, and a body of Mahé sepoys, marched from Pondichery, with five pieces

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But does so in vain.

The preparations made for the expedition.

The troops composing it.

The English auxiliary force at Fort St. David.

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Muhammadans utterly routed by the French.

of cannon, and, as a huge tiger springs into a sheep-fold, rushed between the two forces, turned upon the Muhammadan army, and killed many foot-soldiers, horses, and elephants. The rout was complete. A shot, discharged by the French, took effect upon the Nawâb's state-elephant, laying open its skull, and causing the beast to run screaming for a distance of a league and a quarter from the field of battle, where it fell dead. Having thus gained a complete victory, the French returned to Pondichery, without having even one of their number wounded in the action. Mahfuz Khân afterwards sent for the English, and taunted them in the following words : "I have already had full experience at Mylapore," said he, "of the valour of the French, and of the wily policy pursued by a man named Ânanda Ranga Pillai, who is associated with them. I nevertheless trusted in you, and in your words, and, disregarding even the advice of my own father, came to your assistance. I believed as you were to the eastward, that you would support me at the critical moment, so I pitched my camp here, but my position was precisely that of a man who had fallen into a well with his eyes open. There was no city like Madras, and its defences were powerful. But the French, with a small force, marched against it, and in a single Indian hour captured the fort. You are the Englishmen who have been thus driven out. Your men in authority are fit only to hand you the weights when you hold the scales to weigh

What M. Khan subsequently said to the English.

merchandise. Can they exhibit the diplomatic skill and foresight enabling them to ward off dangers, that are possessed by that man Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, alone?" The Englishmen replied: "Unless we receive a large reinforcement of ships, we cannot make head against the French at Pondichery. You need not be so deeply offended with us. From this day forward, we will place our camp in advance of that of the Muhammadans. We will even sell our goods and chattels to pay, as you have suggested, for the maintenance of your army." Having said this, they encamped outside the fort, in support of the Muhammadan army. Maḥfuz Khân and his younger brother, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, thereupon sent for reinforcements of cavalry from Trichinopoly, and other places, and thus strengthened, they pitched their tents in the vicinity of Pondichery. But Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai was not the man to be disheartened by their movements. He regarded this large body of men as though it was so much chaff, and advised the Governor, as befitted the occasion. He endeavoured to instill confidence into the minds of the people of Pondichery. He appointed proper men, at suitable places, to bring him tidings, and passed his days and nights without sleep or food, vigilantly watching the development of events. He caused beacons to be set up at intervals of four miles all round the fort, and took so many other precautions that even children would have felt confident that no danger was to be apprehended,

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The reply which they made.

A second advance on Pondichery by Mahfuz Khan and his brother.

The action taken by A. Ranga Pillai, to thwart them.

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What M. Khan said on hearing of this.

though 100,000 horsemen thundered at the gates. Mahfuz K͟hân heard of the warlike preparations that Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai had made to meet him, and that his heart was set on military glory; and he thereupon exclaimed: "Who in the wide world, can compare with this man? Who can equal him in valour? It is hopeless for one to expect to conquer him. My father only spoke the truth about him. It matters not how many days I remain here. I dare not even lift up my eyes to look at Pondichery. If Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai should hear of the disorder prevailing in my camp, and the terror felt by the English who skulk behind it, and, finding a fit opportunity, should give the signal to 2,000 of the men stationed outside the fort, to attack me from opposite directions, my army would be annihilated in the space of two Indian hours, and shame would be my portion. I dare not remain a moment longer without taking action. What do I care for these Englishmen? I must no longer listen to any suggestions. I will brave the opinion of every one. To escape with my life will be all that I can do. That man has despoiled me of even my turban. I must try every means to have it tied, and placed on my head, by that man's own hands, and to gain him as my friend. If I then retire with my forces, I shall have accomplished a great deed." Having

He sends M. Tavakkal to open negotiations with A. Ranga Pillai.

thus deeply pondered over matters, he next inquired who was the fittest man to go to Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, and open negotiations with him. He

fixed on Muḥammad Tavakkal, and sent him on this mission. When Muḥammad Tavakkal commenced to treat with Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, the latter, who understood what true courtesy was, said to him: "Only those who oppose should be opposed. Why should I entertain ill-will against a man who humbles himself? I had a mind to, one of these days, give the Nawâb, for four Indian hours, a pretty show of fighting, but he does not now seek it, and I have no longer any other desire than to comply with his wishes. He hoped to enjoy the sight afforded by pitting English against French valour. He, however, did not know that the whole horde assembled at Madras was like a stack of straw—huge as a mountain—and that the French were like a spark of fire. He accepted what the English said as true, and desired to amuse himself with the spectacle which he had provoked. It is not yet too late. Even now, I will bring about peace between our Governor and the Nawâb. I will persuade the former to give the latter many presents. I will have his turban tied, and put on his head; and I will send him away with honour." The envoy of Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân returned, and reported to him what Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai had said. On hearing this, Maḥfuz Khân rejoiced greatly, and said: "If Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai will personally invite me, I will certainly go to Pondichery, but not otherwise. I put my trust in no other man. I have heard the proverb: 'It is better to be at enmity

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The reply which he received.

M. Tavakkal reports this to his master.

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And returns to Pondichery, with an invitation to Ranga Pillai.

with the unwise.' If you go to Pondichery, and return with him, I will ask him to guarantee my safety, and then start. Go thither, then, at once, and bring him with you." On this, Muhammad Tavakkal, the representative of Maḥfuz Khân, came to Pondichery, and told Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai all that his master had said. Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai then went to the Governor, and said: "Nawâb Maḥfuz Khân has requested me, through his agent, to go to him. I will comply, and will encourage him to come here. What cause of enmity have we with the Muhammadan Government? We should invite him here, and loading him with valuable presents, send him away." The Governor then assembled his Councillors, and in their presence said to him: "In these days, we should trust no Muhammadans, and Maḥfuz Khân not at all. He has suffered many defeats at our hands; and, further, his mind must be filled with the grievous thought that he owes all his disgrace to you, who have been directing everything from here. Such being the case, how can we allow you to go into his camp, which is occupied by a large army? All of as regard you as the apple of our eyes, and we depend on the help of your counsels in matters of diplomacy. I will not send you to him. If he fears to visit Pondichery, let him depute a Muhammadan of rank; or I will send a Councillor to accompany him hither." Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai replied: "All these political complications have arisen because Maḥfuz

Who asks permission of the Governor to accept it.

Grant of this demurred to.

Khân listened to the words of the English; and in consequence of this, many lives have become a prey to death. It appears to me useless to prolong the war. The best course is to conclude a treaty. If I do not go when I am invited, it will be thought that there is now no one more chicken-hearted than myself. I ask you, therefore, not to forbid my doing so. I will, by your leave, go to Mahfuz Khân, and invite him to come here." Having received permission from the Governor to depart, Ânanda Ranga Pillai set out, but was surrounded by the whole of the towns-people, who endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose. He, however, was not to be moved, and having given them an assurance that he would return in safety, he proceeded to the Muhammadan camp. When Mahfuz Khân heard of his approach he, in great astonishment, exclaimed to the principal Jemadars, who were with him: "What courage can compare with that of Ânanda Ranga Pillai? No one else in this world can possess the like." When Ânanda Ranga Pillai entered his presence, he immediately rose to receive him, and having embraced him, took him by the hand, and led him to a private apartment. He then poured into Ânanda Ranga Pillai's ears the tale of his own griefs, and continued talking for two Indian hours. Ânanda Ranga Pillai replied to all that he said, and, by adducing reasons and documentary proofs, deprived him of any ground for further argument. Mahfuz Khân was highly delighted,

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Ranga Pillai persists in his request.

Which is then complied with.

What M. Khan said, on hearing that he was coming.

The interview between them.

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and said: "A man such as you should be Vizier to the Emperor; and failing that, Vizier to at least the Nizâm. The French are, indeed, fortunate in possessing you. I am now prepared to listen to all that you have to say. I place myself in your hands, and will go with you." Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai replied: "You may trust me. You need entertain no misgiving regarding your safety." Maḥfuz Khân then gave the sword and dagger which he was wearing to Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai, and also presented him with gifts. He subsequently accompanied him to Pondichery. The faces of all the Englishmen who were then in the camp fell; they dispersed, and proceeded, by various routes, to Fort St. David. There was much joy amongst the Muḥammadans, and the scene in the camp was as though Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai was manifesting himself there, in the form of the God, Brahma, and granting all in it their lives. He returned to Pondichery, with Maḥfuz Khân, between whom and the Governor, he brought about peace. He caused many gifts to be bestowed on Maḥfuz Khân, on whose head he had the turban replaced, and loading him with many honours, he sent him away. When conversing with the Governor, Maḥfuz Khân expatiated, for two Indian hours, on the qualifications of Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai. Having received the presents bestowed on him, he then returned to the camp, and moving off with his army, reached Arcot.

M. Khan makes gifts to R. Pillai, and accompanies him to Pondichery.

The effect of this on either party.

Ranga Pillai brings about peace, and sends M. Khan away with many presents.

Such was the public talk concerning me. The reputation which I had acquired was so great that the Governors of provinces, and all individuals of rank, were unanimous in declaring that there was not, in this world, my equal in diplomatic skill; and all this came to me by the grace of God alone, and not through any talent on my part. As the common talk is of me; of how I spent days and even nights without sleep in the careful conduct of the affairs of the Company; and of how I had been instrumental in extending the glory of the French over the wide world, and in making their name a terror, even to the Emperor of Delhi, and other princes, I am sure that the Europeans and the officers of the Company, who dwell in Pondichery, will allude to these matters in the letters written by them to those in their native land. I, also, feel convinced that the despatch to the Company will make mention of my strenuous exertions with regard to their affairs. My reputation will then spread throughout France, and all Europe. It is such as could not be purchased by me, even at the cost of 10 lakhs of pagodas. How can I relate the wondrous way in which God, in His exceeding goodness, has made me the possessor of it? I could record, at still greater length, all the credit that I acquired in this business, but as self-laudation is a most unwise thing, I have written as above, giving only hints with regard to it. Nawâb Maḥfuz K͟hân not only praised me to my face, but spoke in commendation of me to the Governor, in

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Diarist writes that such was the public talk regarding him.

His belief as to the extension of his reputation.

He attributes it all to the grace of God.

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What, according to diarist, M. Khan said, in commendation of him.

the following terms: "As Ânanda Rangappan is employed at your Court, he, by his foresight, has not only converted the grave complications which threatened you, into matters of no importance, but has even brought me face to face with you, and has effected peace. His present position is one too insignificant for a man of his parts. He should be Vizier to the Nizâm; nay, to the Emperor. If he had his deserts, he should fill no other office." In these, and other like terms, did he sound my praises.

The imaginary reply made by M. Dupleix.

The Governor replied: "It is true. I know that he is a very sagacious man. But his father, before him, was wiser still, and had great capacity for business. It is not surprising that the son should inherit from his parent the talents which you appreciate so much in him."

Concluding remarks of diarist.

So spoke the very ruler of a country, in my honour. By the grace of God, which rested exceedingly on me, I had the honour of being praised like Him. It is not I who have imagined this, but, throughout this country, all the people have joined in saying what I have stated above. I do not write more, because it is not proper that I should do so about myself.

Report that M. Tavakkal received a letter from the Nawab.

At 3 this afternoon, a camel courier arrived with despatches. There was a report that he brought, to Muhammad Tavakkal, a letter from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Ṣâhib, which ran as follows:

Alleged contents of this.

"I have heard, with great pleasure, that you and Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai arranged an interview between the Governor Ṣâhib and Mahfuz Khân, and

effected peace. The fame of Ânanda Ranga Piḷḷai has now spread abroad like the rays of the sun." The Nawâb further expressed the wish that Muḥammad Tavakkal should endeavour to secure more presents for him. It was also reported that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Ṣâḥib addressed a letter to Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. In this he expressed his anger with Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, because he was not present at the interview with the Governor Ṣâḥib, and commanded both Maḥfuz Khân and Muḥammad 'Alî Khân, to return to Arcot. The messenger stated that they thereupon countermanded the order which had, at first, been given for the march of their followers to Uḍaiyârpâḷaiyam, and had directed their troops to move towards Arcot. He also said that he had heard from the Muhammadan horsemen that as the Nawâb had ordered the immediate return of the army to Arcot, it would halt to-night at Vizhuppuram, and to-morrow night at Gingee, and would reach Arcot the day after tomorrow.

What the Nawab is reported to have written to his sons.

Statement regarding the Muhammadan forces made by a courier.

CHAPTER XLIV.

FROM FEBRUARY 27TH, 1747, TO MARCH 9TH, 1747.

A large number of natives assemble at diarist's store-house—He informs the Governor that they desire to pay their respects —And then brings them to him—They present mohurs, and make their obeisance —He invites them to be present at a mass in the church—A state banquet given to all the Europeans—Governor presents bangles, etc., to M. Tavakkal—And attends mass at the fort—Formalities observed on the occasion—Display of fire-works, illuminations, etc.—Decorations most effective—Governor gives a supper to the Europeans—After it, there is dancing and music—Names of Muhammadans who were present—The sums given to the Governor by those who paid their respects to him—Miyân Ṣâhib visits him, and receives presents—Governor reads to diarist a letter from Madras—This reports the arrival there of an English ship—Details of the deceit practised on her captain—The stratagem by which she was captured—And the value of a portion of her cargo—What the Governor then said to diarist—His reply—Conversation between them—Miyân Ṣâhib visits diarist—List of presents sent to Husain Ṣâhib—Those forwarded to Sampâti Rao—Gifts for Anwar Khân and others—Two servants of Imâm Ṣâhib, about to leave for Arcot, go to bid the Governor farewell—Arrangements with regard to certain money due to them—Governor makes them presents—They then take leave—What the Governor said to Avây Ṣâhib, before he departed—Governor writes to M. d'Espréménil that messengers will arrive, at Madras—These to be treated with all honour—Instructions as to a flag which they will bring—These orders communicated to Muttaiya Piḷḷai—M. Tavakkal takes leave of the Governor—Arrangements regarding a certain payment to him—Promise made to him by the Governor—Salary of V. Subbaiyan increased—Governor directs that he shall keep a palanquin—His remonstrance—Diarist promises to mention this favourably—'Abd-ul-Shâh, and M. Lavillette's son, refer a dispute to diarist—The cause and particulars of this—Diarist, and two others, hear the parties—Decision passed, and a deed executed—M. Tavakkal and others, start for Arcot—A missionary who is sight-seeing, goes with them—Diarist makes gifts to Avây Ṣâhib, and others—They then depart—What Mîr Asad wrote to the Governor—He sends word, asking for four cannon—Diarist reports to the Governor a complaint made by Mîr Asad—The reply which was sent to him—M. Tavakkal begs the Governor to allow V. Nâyakkan to return from exile—Governor complies, but excludes V. Nâyakkan's son—When on his way to Arcot M. Tavakkal writes to the Governor regarding his promise—Notice consequently sent to V. Nâyakkan—Who accordingly returns—Two ships sighted, and

armed soldiers are sent off to them—Six French soldiers, said to be going to Fort St. David from Arcot—Arrangements made to capture them—Letter to diarist, from Madras reports the capture of an English ship—Mentions the terrible condition of the crew—The value of the treasure found on board—And the rejoicings at the capture—A craft, laden with rice, taken—A letter, from Madras, mentions the issue of a certain order—Reports the unwillingness of the merchants to go to Pondichery—Refers to a disturbance created by the Chettis—Which was, however, allayed—And states that new taxes are being demanded—Another letter from Madras—This explains an apparent neglect, to communicate with diarist—Mentions publication of a notice from Pondichery—And alludes to a conciliatory letter from M'd Alî Khân—Particulars of the notice—Diarist writes, in the name of the Governor, to the Râja of Travancore—A ship arrives at Fort St. David, with silver, etc.—Peons capture the English mail to Fort St. David—They also seize one Narêndra Chetti—He said to be indebted to the priests of St. Paul, etc.—Governor directs that he be delivered to the priests—Sivanâga Reddi seeks the intercession of diarist with the Governor—Who had previously bidden diarist to attach him to the French cause, if possible—Orders of the Governor, on hearing the request of the Reddi—Stratagem by which diarist induced Sivanâga Reddi to seek mediation—Details of the message by which he alarmed him—The Reddi desires to explain, in person—At an interview, attempts to excuse himself—But diarist confronts him with facts which he has to admit—He makes entire submission—And says that if a certain permit is granted, he will work for the French—Diarist tells the Governor what has occurred—He gives the permit sought—Arrival of a French ship from Chandernagore, with Company's goods—The news brought by her—Governor directs diarist to make certain preparations—General opinion that an attack on Fort St. David is contemplated—Diarist's remarks on this subject—His hopes as to the success of the expedition—Arrival of cargoes of rice—Messengers from Mahé report that no men-of-war are there—Celebration of the Sivarâtri festival.

Monday, the 27th February 1747, or 19th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning at 6, the Government merchants, the employés at the mint, the sellers of sundry goods, the Chetti merchants, the cloth merchants, the money dealers, the monigars, Sêshâchala Chetti, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, Vâsudêva Pandit, the inhabitants of Ariyânkuppam and the

A large number of natives assemble at diarist's store-house.

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suburban villages, Appâchi Nîlakanṭa Nâyakkan, and several others, came to my areca-nut store-house. Before 8, all had assembled. The Governor did not rise from his bed, until 9. I made the people wait at my godown, and going to the Governor, told him that all the merchants and mahânâṭṭârs were waiting for an interview with him. He bade me send them to him. I intimated this to the mahânâṭṭârs, and the others, and took them to visit the Governor, with music, and other ceremonials. Each of them presented to him mohurs * according to his means, and paid his respects, making use of complimentary words suitable to the occasion. The Governor was pleased, and spoke to them kindly, saying: "Seeing that all this happiness comes from God, I shall, this afternoon, go to the church in the fort, hear mass, and pray to Him: all you merchants and mahânâṭṭârs, must come there, and see the display." They then took leave of him, and went away. At noon, there was a state dinner at the house of the Governor, at which the Councillors, and the European ladies and gentlemen, were present. When they sat down, twenty-one guns were fired. There was a like salute when the meal was concluded, and wine was being drunk; when the dessert was served; and when they rose from table. At 3 in the afternoon, I took Muḥammad Tavakkal with me to the Governor, who

He informs the Governor that they desire to pay their respects.

And then brings them to him.

They present mohurs, and make their obeisance.

He invites them to be present at a mass in the church.

A state banquet given to all the Europeans.

* The mohur of Southern India was a golden coin worth Rs. 14.

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at 4, made a presentation to him, he being now otherwise called Salik Dâûd Khân. The gifts consisted of a pair of gold bangles, of 200 pagodas weight, and a pendant suspended by two gold cords, which were placed around his neck. Besides these, he received a silk robe on which ten yards of silver lace, each yard estimated to cost 12 pagodas, were stitched, a silk turban, and an ornament for the hand; and when these were presented, eleven guns were fired. At 5, the Governor went to the church in the fort, on the eastern side of which the European soldiers were drawn up in line, the Mahé sepoys being ranged on the fort walls. When the Governor arrived, and before the mass began, twenty-one guns were fired. Then all the soldiers outside the fort fired a volley, which was followed by another fired by the Mahé sepoys on the walls. Three volleys were again fired by the soldiers within the fort and the sepoys on the ramparts. Twenty-one guns were fired when the service in the church was over; and the Governor then returned home. There were displays of fire-works to the south of his residence, and to the north of the fort, and lights were lit on the ramparts, the walls, and the roof of the Governor's house. As had been notified by tom-tom on the previous day, all the buildings and streets in the town were illuminated; the former with lights, and the latter with bonfires and it was a very fine sight, the whole town looking as if it was still day-light. The people watched the

Governor presents bangles, etc., to M. Tavakkal.

And attends mass at the fort.

Formalities observed on the occasion.

Display of fire-works, illuminations, etc.

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Decorations most effective.

fire-works, from 7 to 8. The decorations of the town with flags, garlands, plantain trees, cocoanut leaves, and arches, which were shown to great advantage by the brilliance of the illuminations, presented a charming sight, and one worthy of the Gods. So the day was passed, in much merriment. At 9, a supper was served, at which the Councillors, and the European ladies and gentlemen, were present. When the wine, fruit, and sweets, had been partaken of, the guests began to sing and dance, some playing on musical instruments, others blowing trumpets, and so forth. The fun went on until very late in the night.

Governor gives a supper to the Europeans.

After it, there is dancing and music.

The Muhammadans, also, took part in this entertainment. They were: Muḥammad Tavakkal, the son of Chandâ Ṣâḥib, Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib, and J'afar Ṣâḥib the father of Mîr Ghulâm Ḥusain. The son of Badé Ṣâḥib had also been invited; but he did not attend, as the first annual ceremony of his grandfather was approaching.

Names of Muhammadans who were present.

List of the presents made to the Governor by the merchants, etc., on the occasion of their visiting him.

The sums given to the Governor by those who paid their respects to him.

	Mohurs.
The Company's merchants	21
Sêshâchala Cheṭṭi	5
Employés of the Mint	21
Vâsudêva Paṇḍit	5
Nayinâr	7
Mint Ramaṇappa Cheṭṭi	11
Salatu Venkaṭâchala Cheṭṭi	7
Wholesale warehouse-keepers	15
Cash merchants	5

List of the presents made to the Governor by the merchants, etc., on the occasion of their visiting him—cont.

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	Mohurs.
People of the suburban villages	4
People of Ariyânkuppam	3
Cloth merchants	10
People of Ozhukarai	7
Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan	5
Headman of the Cheṭṭi caste	1
Kavarai Peddu Cheṭṭi	1
The Kômuṭṭies	1
The Weavers	1
Artizan classes	2
People of Sêḍachêri	1
Indigo dealers	3
Liquor merchants	3
Cloth painters	1
Oilmongers (2 sets)	2
Toddy-drawers	2
Petty bazaar merchants	5
People of Muttiyâlpêṭṭai	1
Washermen	5
The pressmen	1
Potters	1

In all 157 mohurs, at Rs. 14 per mohur equal to Rs. 2,198.

Wednesday, the 1st March, 1747, or 21st Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning at 10, Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib visited the Governor. On this occasion, a roll of red broad-cloth, and one of green, and some flasks of Hungary water, were presented to him, and five guns were fired. He then took leave, and went to his lodgings.

Miyan Sahib visits him and receives presents.

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At 2 in the afternoon, the Governor received a letter from Madras. He, forthwith, sent for me. As I was then taking an oil bath, I could not attend on him, at once. I, however, made what haste I could. By that time, three or four messengers had come to me from the Governor. I then put on my robe, and went to him. He read out to me a letter that had reached him. The contents of it were: "On the day that the feast was held, a ship, from England, anchored at Madras. When she was still at a distance, her national flag was observed flying at her mast head. The French flag on the fort was then hauled down, and the English hoisted. As the captain of the ship was not aware that Madras had fallen into the hands of the French, he thought that it still belonged to the English, so he cast anchor without any misgivings, and fired guns, which were returned by the fort. A boat was then sent from the shore. The following letter was written by the captain: "I left England four months ago, and have now arrived. Thirty-six of my crew have died, and the remainder are incapacitated by sickness. Please send your people, soon, to land the cargo, silver, broad-cloth, and other goods that are on board." He gave this, and a list of the articles forming the lading, to an officer of the ship, and putting into his hands the despatches addressed to the Company's officials, and a parcel of other letters, sent him ashore. When the officer landed, they took the packets from

Governor reads to diarist a letter from Madras.

This reports the arrival there of an English ship.

Details of the deceit practised on her captain.

him, and placed him in custody. They then sent a boat off to the ship, to say that a French vessel was hanging about in the neighbourhood, and that she therefore should anchor closer to the shore. She accordingly stood in. On this, all the available boats were despatched, full of soldiers with muskets and ammunition, and surrounded the ship. The soldiers boarded and took possession of her, landing the silver and other goods which she carried, the former being worth one lakh and fifty-thousand dollars. Besides this, there was, also, the silver belonging to the captain and his assistant, and to other merchants. It is not known how much there was of this." This is what was written in the letter received from Madras. When it had been read, the delight of the Governor was beyond all expression. He looked at me, and said: "Rangappa, whatever you say comes to pass." He was much pleased with me.

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And the value of a portion of her cargo.

What the Governor then said to diarist.

I replied: "Sir, you are very fortunate. You will meet with success in all your enterprises. When the year 1748 commences, every thing will turn out favourably for you." He was very pleased and said: "You are right, every thing occurs as you predict." I told him that Fort St. David, too, would fall into his hands. He felt very much gratified at this. I then went away to my areca-nut store-house.

His reply.

Conversation between them.

At 9, Perumukkal Miyân Ṣâḥib came to my house, and was presented with a roll of red broad-cloth.

Miyan Sahib visits diarist.

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He talked for long while, and then took leave of me, saying that he intended departing for the interior on the following morning.

List of presents sent to Husain Sahib.

The subjoined were the presents sent to Ḥusain Sâḥib to-day:—

		Valued at Pagodas.
5	Bales of English broad-cloth ...	...*
5	Do. of French do. ...	...*
1	Roll of flowered cloth	30
1	Do. of broad-cloth, of two colours	96
18½	Yards red velvet	74
13½	Yards yellow velvet	47¼
18	Yards of cloth of gold, valued at 18 pagodas a yard	324
	Spanish gold galloon, weighing Marcs 7, Ounces 4	112½
2	Mirrors	5
4	Mirrors	7
1	Set of pictures, in a glass case, with a magnifier	20
	Another description of galloon, weighing Marcs 7, Ounces 4	112½
12	Clasp knives	12
12	Scissors	6
4	Chandeliers	20
1	Double-barrelled gun	25
2	Single-barrelled guns	12
2	Pairs of pistols	20
12	Bottles rose-water	12
1	Flask for rose-water, of Chinese workmanship	...

* Blank in the original.

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		Valued at Pagodas.
4	Gold lace, weighing Marcs 4 ..	50
20	Flasks balm cordial	10
20	Flasks Imperial water	10
20	Flasks Hungary water	$2\frac{3}{4}$

Presents sent to Sampâti Rao.

Those forwarded to Sampati Rao.

4	Parcels, English broad-cloth ...	...*
4	Parcels, French do. ...	...*
8	Yards, cloth of gold	144
4	Mirrors	8
12	Long scissors	6
6	Scissors	6

Gifts for Anwar Khan and others.

Besides these presents, the following were sent by M. Delarche, for distribution to Anwar Khân the son of the brother of Maḥfuz Khân, Gulâb Sing, Pichâ Lâlâ, and other servants :—

6 Parcels of broad-cloth ... ...*

Cash sent to the chobdars, &c., Rs. 1,000 ... ...*

Two servants of Imam Sahib, about to leave for Arcot, to bid the Governor farewell.

Thursday, 2nd March 1747, or 22nd Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following occurred to-day. Two men in the service of Imâm Ṣâḥib—Avây Ṣâḥib and Chokkappa Mudali—had an interview with the Governor, and informed him that they were leaving for Arcot. At 4 in the evening, I went to the Governor, and told him that they had come to bid him farewell. There was money due to them, on a bond for Rs. 25,000. The interest thereon was Rs. 7,688 and odd : in all, Rs. 32,688 and odd.

* Blank in the original.

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Arrangements with regard to certain money due to them.

Some four or five days ago, the Governor sent a note to M. Dulaurens directing him to pay them Rs. 30,000. For the balance—Rs. 2,688 and odd—another note, addressed to M. Dulaurens, was given to them, in view to enabling them to obtain this sum. They took this, and were about to depart, when the Governor presented two rolls of broadcloth to Avây Ṣâḥib, eight yards of cloth to his two daughters-in-law—four yards each; and two yards of cloth to Chokkappa Mudali. Having received these presents, they took leave of the Governor, and told him that the bond for Rs. 25,000 was at Arcot, and that as soon as they arrived there they would send it to him. Then Avây Ṣâḥib came to my godown, performed his devotions, and went home. When he spoke to the Governor of his family affairs, the latter said to him: "You have taken away the goods of many merchants at Madras, falsely representing that they were yours; you will have to answer for this." Avây Ṣâḥib replied to him, politely: "Sir, I do not know to what you refer; I am not aware what our people there may have done; I will write to them to abstain hereafter from what you object to."

Governor makes them presents.

They then take leave.

What the Governor said to Avay Sahib, before he departed.

Governor writes to M. d'Espréminil that messengers will arrive at Madras.

To-day, the Governor wrote to M. d'Espréménil, as follows: "To-morrow, six mounted messengers, and ten or twelve peons, will arrive with a letter, and a dress of honour, from Maḥfuz K͟hân, and with a dress of honour and presents from Muḥammad 'Alî K͟hân. As soon as they appear in sight,

let two Councillors and some leading men go out, receive them with music, and all ceremony, and place the presents in a palanquin. When they approach the fort, let guns be fired in their honour, prepare accommodation for them, and during the time that they are there, let their flag be hoisted on a battery for eight days, and cause it to be hauled down on their departure." The Governor further asked me to write a letter to Muttaiya Piḷḷai informing him of all the instructions issued. I accordingly did so, in the name of the Governor, and wrote another letter of my own. These, I handed to Innâsi, and sent him off this evening, so that Muttaiya Piḷḷai might receive timely intimation.

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These to be treated with all honour.

Instructions as to a flag which they will bring.

These orders communicated to Muttaiya Pillai.

To-day, Muḥammad Tavakkal went to the Governor, in order to bid him farewell, prior to leaving for Arcot. What happened at this meeting was as follows. There was an agreement between him and the French Government, that if he settled, in their favour, the demand of the Nawâb for indemnity on account of expenses of the war, they would pay him Rs. 12,000. Out of this amount, a bill of exchange for Rs. 2,000, on a certain person at Arcot, was given to him, some time ago. Of the balance of Rs. 10,000, he received Rs. 400 in cash, and obtained a bill of exchange from Bukkanji Kâsi Dâs, of this place, on one Haji Ḥusain, at Arcot, for the remaining Rs. 9,600. He then took leave of the Governor, and came to my godown, where he conversed with me until eight at night, and then,

M. Tavakkal takes leave of the Governor.

Arrangements regarding a certain payment to him.

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saying that he intended to start before sunrise on the following morning, went home. He further asked the Governor for a house, in place of that belonging to Ḥusain Ṣâḥib at Madras, which had been destroyed. The Governor told him he would write to M. D'Espréménil directing him to give them another, which Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's men could choose.

Promise made to him by the Governor.

Up to the present time, the salary of Vakîl Subbaiyan has been 6 pagodas. As this was an auspicious day, I spoke to the Governor on his behalf, and had it increased to 10 pagodas a month. He said to me: "Now that the vakîl has 10 pagodas a month, tell him to provide himself with a palanquin, to go about in." I then went to my godown, where I told Subbaiyan, in the presence of Muḥammad Tavakkal, what the Governor had mentioned to me; on which he said: "How is it possible, with only 10 pagodas a month, for one to go about in a palanquin? It is hardly enough for my expenses." I replied: "I will wait for an opportunity, and plead for you with the Governor."

Salary of V. Subbaiyan increased.

Governor directs that he shall keep a palanquin.

His remonstrance.

Diarist promises to mention this favourably.

When I took Singâr, the messenger of the Emperor of Delhi, to visit the Governor, the latter presented him with two rolls of broad-cloth. He took leave, and came away. He proposes to depart to-morrow.

A difference having arisen between a Muhammadan, named 'Abd-ul-Shâh, and the son of M. Lavillette, they referred the matter to me. Their dispute arose in this wise. Two years ago, the son of

Abd-ul-Shah, and M. Lavillette's son, refer a dispute to diarist.

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M. Lavillette took some liquors to Arcot. A portion was disposed of by him, and he left the remainder in the hands of 'Abd-ul-Shâh, for sale. The former now complains that the proceeds of what was left with 'Abd-ul-Shâh were not paid to him. It appears that when the son of M. Lavillette returned from Arcot, he was riding on a horse belonging to 'Abd-ul. On his arrival, he returned the animal, which died within two or three days of reaching Arcot. 'Abd-ul now claims the price of it; and this is the cause of the dispute. It has remained unsettled, for two years. A letter on the subject, addressed to Murtazâ 'Alî, was obtained from the Governor. 'Abd-ul found it difficult to live at Arcot, so when Muḥammad Tavakkal came here, he followed him, and the dispute was settled in the following manner. The complaints of the parties were heard at my godown, in the presence of Muḥammad Tavakkal and Lakshmaṇa Nâyakkan. As the claim involved a sum of Rs. 220, it was unanimously decided that Rs. 100 should be deducted, and that 'Abd-ul Shâh should pay Rs. 120 to the son of M. Lavillette. Out of this amount; allowing for Rs. 58 which were handed to the latter, pending settlement of the dispute, and Rs. 12 paid for his expenses, when at Arcot—in all Rs. 70— 'Abd-ul agreed to send the balance of Rs. 50, as soon as he returned to Arcot. We disposed of the dispute in this fashion, and had a deed in accordance with our decision executed by the parties.

The cause and particulars of this.

Diarist and two others hear the parties.

Decision passed, and a deed executed.

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M. Tavakkal and others, start for Arcot.

A missionary, who is sight-seeing, goes with them.

Friday, the 3rd March 1747, or 23rd Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning at 6, Muhammad Tavakkal left this for Arcot. M. Delarche, M. Cayrefourg, and M. de Kerjean, accompanied him; and so did a missionary who had divested himself of his clerical costume, and was dressed like an ordinary gentleman. As he was travelling through various countries, beholding the sights to be found in them, he now left for Arcot, to see those there.

To-day, Singâr, the messenger of the Emperor, left this, with his suite.

Diarist makes gifts to Avay Sahib, and others.

In addition to the presents made by the Governor to Avây Şâhib, the messenger of Imâm Şâhib, I presented him, on my own account, with six yards of broad-cloth. I also gave Chokkappa Mudali and his son-in-law, Ammaiyappa Mudali, two yards each. Having received these gifts, they took leave of me, went to bid farewell to Chinna Mudali, and then departed for their own country.

They then depart.

What Mir Asad wrote to the Governor.

To-day, the Governor received a letter from Mîr Asad of Vazhudâvûr, in which mention was made of the terms of peace between him and the Nawâb; of the mortgage to him of the garden of Âdiyappa Nâyakkan, at the time that the English were in possession of Madras; and of the money due to him from Yûsuf Hakim. At the same time, he sent word asking for four nine-pounder guns. The same thing was repeated in a letter addressed to me. I told the Governor that in the letter written by Mîr Asad to me, he mentioned that one Venkaţâchala

He sends word, asking for four cannon.

Diarist reports to the Governor a complaint made by Mir Asad.

Nâyakkan had created disturbances in his villages, and that it was not right on the Governor's part, to help him in this respect. He replied: "I have no knowledge of these matters; people blame me for all the outrages committed in the interior. How can I answer all these accusations; please reply to him as you, under the circumstances, think proper." I accordingly wrote to Mîr Asad, as follows: "If you send me the deed mortgaging Âdiyappa Nâyakkan's garden to you, I shall have it translated into French, and will then look into the matter. I will request people who are at Madras to make inquiries regarding the disturbances alleged to have been created in your villages. You say that Yûsuf Hakim owes you money. I know that he is indebted to many others, but I will write to him on the subject. Your servant, Dêvarâya Paṇḍit, who brought the letter of congratulation on the reconciliation of the French with the Muhammadans, told me that you require four guns, and I spoke about this to the Governor. He replied that he would send them, if any more disturbances occurred, and I told this to Dêvarâya Paṇḍit." I despatched the messenger with a letter in these terms, and a bottle of rose-water; good musk not being available.

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The reply which was sent to him.

The following occurred to-day. As it is known, Muḥammad Tavakkal came here a while ago, as an envoy, to effect peace between the French and Muhammadans. After matters had been settled, and when he was about to leave for Arcot, he

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M. Tavakkal's request to the Governor to allow V. Nayakkan to return from exile.

requested the Governor, as a personal favour, to permit Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan, who had been exiled from Pondichery some time ago, to return. The Governor said to him: "His son committed theft here, and we therefore banished him." Muḥammad Tavakkal replied: "Please pardon the offence; you must, at any rate, allow the man to have a house in the town." "Very well," said the Governor:

Governor complies, but excludes V. Nayakkan's son.

"We exclude the son, and permit Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan, his women, his brothers, and his other children, to come, and live here." On the grant of this concession, Muḥammad Tavakkal departed to his own country.

When on his way to Arcot, M. Tavakkal writes to the Governor regarding his promise.

On his way to Arcot, he caused a letter to be written by M. Delarche, in French, and sent it to the Governor. The contents of it were: "Before taking leave of you, I sought permission for Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan to return, and live in Pondichery, and you kindly granted my prayer; I beg you to see that effect is given to this boon." He signed and despatched the letter. When the Governor had read it, he summoned me, and said: "Send word to

Notice consequently sent to V. Nayakkan.

Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan that he, his brothers, and his family, with the exception of his son, are welcome to return, and live in Pondichery." I accordingly sent a cadjan* to Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan, in which I said as follows: "Please leave your son where he is; and you, your women, children, and brothers,

* Letter written, with a style, on a strip of palmyra palm leaf.

may come and dwell here happily, as in former days." I despatched this, with a passport.

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Who accordingly returns.

At 7 this night, when I was at my nut godown, Vîrarâghava Nâyakkan and his younger brother Tiruvêngaḍa Nâyakkan appeared, and paid their respects to me. As soon as my letter reached them, he and his brothers left the place where they were, and came to eat their food here, leaving his son behind, at Âlankuppam.

Two ships sighted, and armed soldiers are sent off to them.

Saturday, 4th March 1747, or 24th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This evening, a ship was sighted to the northward, and then a sloop was seen. Thereupon, a sloop was despatched from the roads, with fifty soldiers, muskets, powder, and other munitions of war. I will hereafter record what takes place.

The following occurred at 2, this morning. Nine French soldiers, who had been circumcised at Arcot, went to Perumukkal, and then started to come here, with a letter from M. Delarche, but only three of them arrived. M. Delarche mentioned in his letter that the other six were going direct to Fort St. David. On this, the Governor sent for me. I was then having an oil bath, at my nut godown. Before I could finish it, some five or six peons came, one after another, in search of me. I then waited on the Governor, who said to me: "It seems that six of our soldiers, who have been circumcised, have gone to Fort St. David; send peons, at once, to arrest and bring them here." I accordingly went to my godown, and despatched some Comqany's

Six French soldiers said to be going to Fort St. David from Arcot.

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Arrangements made to capture them.

peons, and other Muhammadans, to carry out these orders. I also wrote to Sivanâgr Reḍḍi, to see that the soldiers were detained, and sent here.

To-day, I received a letter, written, on the 20th [28th February], from Madras, by Gôpâlakrishṇaiyan. The contents of it were as follows:

Letter to diarist, from Madras, reports capture of an English ship.

"This morning, at 8, we sent a catamaran with a letter to the English ship, to say that we would despatch boats, at night. As the sea was rough, the catamaran returned, and we sent word that if the vessel anchored in the roads, we would send men off in boats. When those on board had read our letter, they got under weigh, and anchored nearer to the shore than our own sloops and boats. At noon, we sent 150 soldiers off to her, and they put her officers and all the sailors on shore. When the ship left England, the officers and crew numbered 130. Deducting those who died on the passage, only eighty men arrived. Even these were all ill. Not one of them was healthy; all that they desired was to see the land. When they had disembarked, the captain and officers were put together in a house, and a guard was set over them. The others were placed in confinement. At 2 in the afternoon, M. Bruyères, and M. Panon, went on board the ship. They found in her silver worth 2,20,000 dollars. This evening, M. d'Espréménil, and others, attended service in the church, with trumpets and music; twenty-one guns were then fired, and rejoicings were held. The delight felt by

Mentions the terrible condition of the crew.

The value of the treasure found on board.

the French is such that they would not have been more pleased if one of their own ships had arrived from Europe. All here say that they have been very fortunate in making the capture." This is what was written in the letter received on the subject.

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And the rejoicings at the capture

Sunday, 5th March 1747, or 25th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The annexed is what I have to record to-day. The fifty soldiers who left this, last night, in a sloop, under the command of M. Porcher, returned this evening with a craft which they had seized. It was consigned, from Ganjám, to 'Abd-ul Rahmân Ṣâḥib, at Porto Novo, and meeting it on their way, our soldiers captured it. Twenty garce of rice and five of paddy, formed the cargo. The Governor ordered that this should be sold here, at the market rate.

A craft, laden with rice, taken.

Monday, 6th March 1747, or 26th Mâsi of Akshaya.—A letter, dated 22nd [2nd] instant, was received, to-day, from Madras, and ran to the following effect: "The subjoined has been proclaimed here. 'We have twice warned the public, by beat of tom-tom, that they should register all property in their possession, but this has not yet been done. In default of compliance with this order, within three days from this date—that is before Sunday next—search will be made in every house, and all goods and articles found therein will be confiscated to the Company.'

A letter, from Madras, mentions issue of a certain order.

"The merchants who, under the influence of M. Friell* and Râmachandra Paṇḍit, both of whom were sent here at the instance of Madame Dupleix.

Reports the unwillingness of the merchants to go to Pondichery.

* This is as it appears in the French records at Pondichery.

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expressed their willingness to proceed to Pondichery, have since become alarmed, and some of them refuse to leave this, saying 'Take away our goods if you like. We cannot go there.'

Refers to a disturbance created by the Chettis.

"I wrote to you that Muttaiya Piḷḷai, and all of us, were about to drive about the town, with the view of announcing to the public that a reconciliation with the Muhammadans had been effected. Guruvappa Cheṭṭi was one of the party, and as we passed through the Cheṭṭi street, on our way from Muttiyâlpêṭṭai, the Cheṭṭis collected a mob, and asked Râmachandra Aiyan, very roughly: 'What business have Kômuṭṭis to ride on horseback in our street. We shall report this to the Governor.'

Which was, however allayed.

Thereupon Muttaiya Piḷḷai sent for Râmachandra Aiyan, and allayed the disturbance. As he is known to be in your employ, and as you once came here, the broil did not come to a head. In spite of the deserted condition of the Cheṭṭi street, and indeed of the whole town, this instance of caste ill-feeling betokens what it must have been in times of yore.

And states that new taxes are being demanded.

"Although, up to the boundary of Poonamallee, no tax has hitherto been levied, some men came, to-day, to demand it. Again, until now, we were exempted from paying taxes in Mylapore, but it is said that in the course of two or three days more, some one will come to collect them."

Another letter from Madras.

Tuesday, 7th March 1747, or 27th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The following are the contents of a letter from Madras: "You have asked me why I did not

intimate to you the seizure, by the French, of an English ship which arrived here. As soon as the capture took place, I posted to you a letter on the subject, but as, under the orders of the Governor, no letters were carried that day, excepting those despatched by him, mine was delayed. What other occupation have I here, save writing punctually to you? My letter has, no doubt, since arrived, and informed you of all that has occurred.

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This explains an apparent neglect, to communicate with diarist.

"In accordance with the terms of an order received from Pondichery, a notice was issued, and a copy posted up at each of the four gates. I enclose one of these for your information.

Mentions publication of a notice from Pondichery.

"A letter, couched in conciliatory terms, and bearing his seal, has been received from Nawâb Muḥammad 'Alî Khân. It ran as follows: 'Since peace has been restored between us, our people should be allowed free access to your city, and yours to ours. Mutual friendship should subsist between us.' M. d'Espréménil does not seem to have taken to heart the fact that no dress of honour accompanied the letter.

And alludes to a conciliatory letter from M. 'Ali Khan.

"I may mention that the notices exhibited at the gates above referred to, were also read out there. This was done in view to make them as public as possible, as they purported to be the third proclamation on the subject."

The copy of the notice enclosed ran as follows: "Let it be understood that it is the command of the Supreme Council of Pondichery that all merchants and all other persons at Madras shall quit

Particulars of the notice.

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it, for Pondichery, within eight days. Within this period, they must transfer their goods, and other property, to the fort, whence they will be shipped to Pondichery, and there they will be delivered to the owners. If any person does not, as afore directed, either proceed to Pondichery, or send his goods etc., to the fort, all his property will be confiscated to the Company."

Diarist writes, in the name of the Governor, to the Rajah of Travancore.

On Monday the 6th March or 26th Mâsi, I wrote a letter, in the name of the Governor, to Mahârâjâ Vanji Vâla Mârtânda Varmâ of Travancore, and despatched it by his agent Kunti Nâyakkan. A copy of it is in the file of papers with Madanânda Pandit.

A ship arrives at Fort St. David, with silver, etc.

Intimation has been received, to-day, that a ship from England arrived at Fort St. David, the day before yesterday, and that thirty-one cases of silver, brandy . . . * were landed. It is true that such a ship has come laden with thirty-one chests of silver, but what the remaining cargo may be, is not definitely known. On receipt of information, I will record particulars.

Peons capture the English mail to Fort St. David.

To-day, the Company's peons having met the English mail, from St. Thomas' Mount to Fort St. David, brought it, and the bearers of it, into Pondichery. The Governor took the papers, and ordered that the runners should be imprisoned in the fort.

They also seize one Narendra Chetti.

When on their way hither, with the English mail, the Company's peons chanced to see Narêndra Chetti, whom they seized, and brought with them.

* Blank in the original.

When I reported this to the Governor, he inquired why he had been arrested. I replied that a Christian, who accompanied the peons, had done this. He then asked whether he owed any one money. I informed him that the man was in debt to the priests of the church of St. Paul, and to some merchants. He said : "Kindly hand him over to the priests, but avoid making mention of other circumstances." I accordingly sent for Louis Pṛakâsan, the catechist of the church, and handed Narêndra Cheṭṭi over to him.

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He said to be indebted to the priests of St. Paul, etc.

Governor directs that he be delivered to the priests.

Wednesday, 8th March 1747, or 28th Mâsi of Akshaya.—This morning, Mangâ Piḷḷai, whom Sivanâga Reḍḍi had sent to me, to intercede for him, arrived, and made the following statement: "Sivanâga Reḍḍi is given to understand that the French are much offended with him. He affirms that he has done no harm to them, or anything calculated to give them offence, and that if they continue to entertain these feelings towards him, he could not endure it. He undertakes, if a permit is sent to him, to be their agent, and do to their bidding." On a former occasion, when I had to speak to the Governor on this subject, he said to me: "You should, by some means or other, induce him to espouse our cause. He will be of service to us when we attack Fort St. David. You must prevail upon him. You know how to manage this." Bearing these words in mind, I repaired to the Governor, to-day, and communicated to him the wishes of Sivanâga Reḍḍi. He exclaimed: "Send for him, and

Sivanaga Reddi seeks the intercession of diarist, with the Governor.

Who had previously bidden diarist to attach him, to the French cause if possible.

Orders of the Governor, on hearing the request of the Reddi.

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settle the matter. Be good enough to make sure that he is on our side."

Stratagem by which diarist induced Sivanaga Reddi to seek mediation.

I may mention that, as regards this matter, it was my desire, ever since the Governor spoke to me on the subject, that the proposal for reconciliation should emanate from Sivanâga Reḍḍi. With that object, I privately circulated news of the anger of the Governor, in order that it might reach the man's ears, and render him, every day, more and more afraid. It is in consequence of this, that he has petitioned for peace, under the impression that the ill-feeling of the French would, one day or other, occasion his ruin.

Details of the message by which he alarmed him.

In reply, I sent word to him, through Mangâ Piḷḷai, in the following terms : "You have associated yourself with the Muhammadans, and, by adhering to the cause of the English, have been the origin of much trouble to the French. This has greatly angered the Governor, and of this I have been secretly informing you. If you will, for the future, change your attitude, and behave in conformity with our wishes, every thing will go well with you, for you are a neighbour of the French, and live but a short distance from them. It is in consideration of the friendship existing between us, that I have thought proper to communicate this to you."

The Reddi desires to explain, in person.

Sivanâga Reḍḍi thereupon sent a reply to the following effect: "So far as I am aware, there has been no offence on my part. I must explain every thing in person. If you bid me come, I will."

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I accordingly sent, through Mangâ Pillai, a permit to enable him to come here. He halted at my garden-house, and this evening, sent word to me of his arrival. Having intimated this to the Governor, I repaired thither, and saw Sivanâga Reddi, who said: "I know nothing. Please send for 'Abd-ul Jalîl who came here. I did nothing beyond visiting him."

At an interview, attempts to excuse himself.

Seeing that he was thus endeavouring to exculpate himself, I confronted him with certain facts which he could not help admitting, and thus made him convict himself, out of his own mouth. Thereupon he exclaimed: "Let bygones be bygones. In future, I will obey your instructions. I will persuade the troops at Fort St. David to secede from their allegiance, will assist you in your expedition against it, and will reveal to you every secret that exists. I will also sow discord amongst them; and will do my best for you. In return, I must be treated considerately. A permit must be granted to enable my children to reside here in safety. Depending on your assurance, I will then work for you, in the prosecution of your scheme." On his speaking in these very humble terms, I requested him to remain for a while where he was, and repaired to the Governor, to whom I communicated the purport of the interview. I said: "He states that if you will give him a permit under your own hand, he will place confidence in it, establish his wife and children here; and will then, by disclosing all secrets, and in other ways, assist, in every way in his power, the carrying

But diarist confronts him with facts which he has to admit.

He makes entire submission.

And says that if a certain permit is granted, he will work for the French.

Diarist tells the Governor what has occurred.

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He gives the permit sought.

out of your plans." The Governor thereupon wrote out a permit, in French, and sealing it with his Persian seal, delivered it to me. I handed it over to Sivanâga Reḍḍi, who received it, and said: "To-morrow, I will send a force consisting of 200 or 300 men." In the evening, he departed.

Arrival of a ship from Chandernagore, with Company's goods, etc.

Thursday, 9th March 1747, or 29th Mâsi of Akshaya.—A Portuguese ship, laden with the Company's goods and rice, arrived, to-day, from Chandernagore. Two or three Paṭhân merchants also disembarked. They brought silk thread and some other Bengal merchandise. The news received by this ship is that the English squadron at Calcutta, commanded by Mr. Peyton and other officers, has been fitted out for a voyage to these parts. M. Burat, the Director of Chandernagore, who had left M. St. Paul in charge of his office, arrived by this ship, and visited the Governor.

The news brought by her.

Governor directs diarist to make certain preparations.

To-day the Governor bade me procure, and keep ready, 500 peons, and 250 men of the caste who dig earth; as also pack-bullocks, which I did. Although no reason has been assigned for this, people, having regard to the way in which matters are being arranged, and war-material is being procured, are of opinion that the French are preparing for an expedition against Fort St. David. This is what they say when they observe the preparations that are being made. But I knew this fifteen days ago, when the Governor spoke to me regarding his intention. I have provided, to his satisfaction, all

General opinion that an attack on Fort St. David is contemplated.

Diarist's remarks on this subject.

the supplies ordered, although I made it appear, all the while, that they were intended for a trip to be made by M. Dupleix, to Madras,—and indeed this rumour was circulated, even at Arcot, and Madras. The trouble which I have taken will be fully recompensed if Fort St. David is captured, and the white flag hoisted there. I pray God that my hope may be realized, and I have no doubt of it; for the French are a fortunate people. My wish is that this should come to pass soon.

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His hopes as to success of the expedition.

Two boats, laden with paddy, arrived from the north, to-day; as also a sloop from Kârikâl, bearing a like cargo.

Arrival of cargoes of rice.

A letter was received, to-day, from Mahé. What tidings it contained is not known, but they will come to light to-morrow. The Brâhmans who brought it said: "None of the men-of-war that sailed from here have arrived at Mahé."

Messengers from Mahi report that no men-of-war are there.

To-night, the Sivarâtri festival took place. It was also celebrated thirty days ago, as there were, in this year, two days on either of which the feast could be held.

Celebration of the Sivaratri festival.

CHAPTER XLV.

FROM MARCH 10TH, 1747, TO MARCH 14TH, 1747.

Poligar of Âlattûr sends 200 peons—M. Paradis appointed to command an expedition against Fort St. David—The other officers disapprove—Their grounds for doing so—Governor argues with the objectors—And, as they hold out, appoints M. de la Tour, as commander—Governor very angry, and M. Paradis much depressed—Governor questions diarist regarding coolies, etc., for the expedition—And gives him instructions as to the disposal of these—He asks about peons from Vêṭṭavalam—Diarist explains—Governor inquires regarding certain spies—Diarist makes his report—And adds that certain persons accompanied Maḥfuz Khân to Trichinopoly—Governor asks the reason for this—Diarist replies—Chances of Maḥfuz Khân helping the English discussed—Diarist expresses a negative belief—Subsequent conversation—Diarist ends with a fulsome speech—For which the Governor expresses his thanks—Governor directs him to send guides, to M. de la Tour—He does so—Diarist's version of the news contained in the French Gazette, as related by the Governor—Who says that Fort St. David must be taken before he receives certain orders—The reply made by diarist—MM. de la Tour and Paradis set out, to attack Fort St. David—A report, made by diarist to the Governor, leads to a temporary recall—Details of the force composing the expedition—Its movements—Governor receives a letter from M. Delarche—Which conveys an inquiry from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib—And reports the price asked for certain villages—Governor tells diarist what his reply was—The expedition attacked, on crossing the boundary of Fort St. David—English force repulsed—The French advance to Uchimêḍu—The English halt, after crossing the Pennâr—They thence retire to Manjakuppam—And fire on the French, from the batteries there—The loss sustained by the attackers—Practice made by the guns on either side—Diarist ordered to procure, and arm, forty peons—He does so, and places part with M. Duquesne—Capture of alleged spies—One of these flogged, in view to obtain a confession—But without result—The men imprisoned—Diarist receives news of a defeat of the English—And that the Coffres had escaladed a battery—Which the French then occupied—Diarist awakes the Governor to communicate this—Conversation between them—Governor directs diarist to procure transport for ammunition—And personally hastens the preparation of shells, etc.—News of a further defeat of the English—And the evacuation of all the batteries—Incessant sounds of cannon heard at Pondichery—Some English cannon balls brought in—Letters from Arcot, for the Governor, and diarist—V. Subbaiyan reports delivery of the presents for the Nawâb—And that Ḥusain Ṣâḥib had an

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interview with M. Delarche—At which he spoke of the destruction of his house at Madras—And refused to take another in its stead—States further, the promise of the Nawâb touching M. de Bury's son—And reports what M. Delarche said, when presents to certain persons were suggested—Another letter from Subbaiyan—This complains that M. Tavakkal is deferring a payment—A third letter from Subbaiyan—It conveys news of the murder, at Delhi, of Umdat-ul-mulk—Of the orders of the Emperor regarding his property—Of the trouble which this occasioned—Of the directions then issued by the Emperor—Of the burial of the deceased—And of the sale of his property, to a very high value—The letter then refers to a settlement between K. Ni'amat-ullâh Khân, and the Nizâm—And the reward given to the Diwan, for effecting this—It also states that Seringapatam has been leased—That the Nizâm will make a tour to collect arrears—And that the Nawâb is, therefore, busy making up accounts, and collecting arrears—V. Nayakkan tells diarist that the French occupied the garden at Manjakuppam—And were about to attack Fort St. David—When the English fleet appeared in the offing—That it was thereupon decided that the force should return—That the supplies were then sent back to Pondichery—That the guns, ammunition, etc., were destroyed, or rendered useless—That this was also done at the Horsetail battery—That a party of pursuers was repulsed—And that the troops finally reached Pondichery—Two English ships appear off the anchorage—Preparations made to resist them—They, however, stand off again—Apparently sent to capture two French ships—Diarist's remarks as to the cause of the failure of the expedition—The good luck of two French ships, on their way to Pondichery—Remarks of diarist on this matter—The force sent by the Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam—He promises more men—His contingent, and another, parade before the Governor—Who gives diarist instructions regarding them—An English ship sighted—Diarist sends spies to Fort St. David—Governor bewails to diarist the failure caused by the arrival of the English fleet—Diarist replies that the capture of Fort St. David is merely deferred—And that he only regrets the probable removal of the goods stored there—He foretells the fall of the fort, at an early date—The Governor twits him with the failure of his predictions—He retorts that he often advised an attack on Fort St. David—And, particularly, when the fleet was available—Governor apparently mollified—Diarist tells the Governor the prediction of an astrologer —At which he laughed.

Thursday, 10th March 1747 or 30th Mâsi of Akshaya.—The number of peons sent by Venkatâchala Nâyakkan, the Poligar of Âlattûr, was exactly 200. By order of the Governor, they were each supplied, from the fort, with a musket and dagger.

Poligar of Alattur sends 200 peons.

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Desiring them to proceed to my liquor godown, under the escort of Vîrâ Nâyakkan, I repaired to the Governor's house, where the Council was sitting. At this meeting, it was decided that an expedition, under the command of M. Paradis, should be sent to attack Fort St. David. When, however, MM. de Bury, de la Tour, and other officials, were consulted, they exclaimed: "We will not obey M. Paradis, should he be appointed to command. At Mascareigne, he only superintended the work of coolies. He was afterwards assistant to an officer of Engineers, at Mahé, where, on the death of the commandant, M. Trémisot, he married his widow, who, on account of her likeness to a monkey and her advanced age, did not attract other men, but whom he married in consideration of the vast wealth which she possessed. As such was to be their fate, she took a liking to, and wedded, him. Her money being in his hands, he began to make loans for shipment of merchandise, and to purchase goods, whereby his name became, to some extent, known to the public. Then, when the Engineer died, he was raised to that appointment. Subsequently, during the Governorship of M. Dumas, he was brought over here, in order to construct a fort at Kârikâl. He was afterwards appointed Engineer at Pondichery; his predecessor, who was also a priest, having become too old to perform the duties of the office. Later on, when there was a disturbance at Kârikâl, he was sent by M. Dupleix, to quell it; which

M Paradis appointed to command an expedition against Fort St. David.

The other officers disapprove.

Their grounds for doing so.

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he did. Subsequently, on the death of M. Febvrier, who was fatally injured by an explosion at the gunpowder factory, M. Dupleix, being well-disposed towards M. Paradis, appointed him to the vacancy. Even after that, he did not accompany any expedition as an officer recognized by the Company."

Governor argues with the objectors.

On MM. de Bury and de la Tour, and other old servants of the Company, protesting, in these terms, at the Council, the Governor argued with them, at great length, explaining the reasons for his proposal. He spoke to them, at times, angrily, and at others, in kind language. But they would not give way. He therefore appointed M. de la Tour as commanding officer, to be guided, however, by the advice of M. Paradis, and he passed, in Council, an order to that effect. It was then noon. The wrath of the Governor was beyond expression. After the Council had dispersed, M. Paradis went home, much depressed.

And, as they hold out, appoints M. de la Tour, as commander.

Governor very angry, and M. Paradis much depressed.

Governor questions diarist regarding coolies, etc., for the expedition.

The Governor then summoned me, and said: "Have you equipped the 200 peons sent by the Poligar of Âlattûr? How many Palli earth-diggers have you secured? How many bullocks are in readiness?" I replied: "I have equipped the peons. As they are not men of this part of the country, I will send them in charge of Vîrâ Nâyakkan." He responded: "Do as you think proper. Put the earth-diggers under the command of M. Nekar.* Send only 100 of the bullocks to the

* This appears to be a corruption of a French name, but all endeavours to ascertain what it was have proved unavailing.

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And gives him instructions as to the disposal of these.

fort, to carry rice thence to Ariyânkuppam. Keep the remaining 200 with you. Secure, also, another 200, or at any rate 100. Our men will set out to-morrow morning, at 5. In addition, you had better send the 200 peons of the Âlattûr Poligar, 300 earth-diggers, and also five or six horses—as many as you can get." I said "very well."

He asks about peons from Vettavalam.

Diarist explains.

He then asked whether the men sent to Vêṭṭavalam, for peons, had returned. I answered: "As Mâḥfuz Khân has been occupying Ginjee, the Poligar, who had previously plundered the villages thereabouts, has probably hesitated to send the men. Now that Mâḥfuz Khân has departed for Trichinopoly, he will no doubt send them."

Governor inquires regarding certain spies.

Diarist makes his report.

He then said: "What has become of the Brâhman and six peons whom we sent out." I replied: "In obedience to your orders, they went as far as Vâlikoṇḍâpuram, which they left only after Mâḥfuz Khân had departed. They have just returned. It is from them that I obtained the news that Mâḥfuz Khân would, by this time, have reached Trichinopoly."

And adds that certain persons accompanied Mahfuz Khan to Trichinopoly.

Governor asks the reason for this.

I added: "Two Europeans, one Brâhman, and ten peons, all in the employ of the English, have accompanied him from Ginjee to Trichinopoly." He exclaimed: "You told me that when a deputation from the English waited on Mâḥfuz Khân, and conveyed an invitation to him, he declined to meet their wishes, stating that he intended going to Trichinopoly, and could only see to their business after his return. If so, what object could these men have

had in accompanying him?" I explained this by saying: "Although he refused at first, he might subsequently have given hopes. At all events, they might think that if they went with him he would relent, and at least send some cavalry. It is but natural that they should have made this attempt." Thereupon he said: "Is he likely to send any reinforcements? What is your opinion?" I replied: "It must be remembered that, since the capture of Madras by the French, the Nawâb and his men have been so much alarmed that they would not, even for a moment, lay them down to rest anywhere in the line which it was expected that the French would take. They repent of having foolishly undertaken the enterprise which brought them shame. They are aware how scornfully they would be regarded by the Nizâm when he heard of the retreat of the ruler of a Subah subject to him. They fear that the tenure of office of the Nawâb has become imperilled through their having earned the name of cowards, and, thereby, entirely lost their reputation; and also through the news of their discomfiture having reached Delhi. They knew, full well, that it was quite hopeless to think of ever conquering the French, and, at the same time, wished to avoid the ignominy of originating proposals for peace. They therefore decided to send an envoy to you, with a proposal that they might be allowed to hoist their flag, for eight days at Madras; and expressed their willingness to receive any presents that you might think fit, in token of

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Diarist replies.

Chances of M. Khan helping the English discussed.

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reconciliation. When you formally invited them, they promptly came here, and concluded peace with you. They would, of course, write to the Niẕâm, to say that they had hoisted their standard, but that after this had been done, the fort of Madras had been handed over to the French, at their earnest request. On the other hand, Mîṛ Asad, Taqî Ṣâḥib, and other Mansubdars and Killedars, would inform the Niẕâm that, falling at the feet of the French when they found them victorious in the field, and also without an enemy, they had sought peace. This would naturally lead the Niẕâm to seek an opportunity for removing the Nawâb from office, and installing another in his place. When all this is occupying their thoughts, how can the English obtain any assistance from them." The Governor remarked: "What you say is true." I said: "Have not things come to pass in accordance with the predictions made by me during the last six months." He replied "Yes." I added: "So long as God favours you with success, it is of no moment what force the enemy may collect; the very sight of you would create such fear in their hearts as to constrain them to take to their heels, at once. What chance is there, in the future, either of the Muhammadans returning, or of the English remaining here? Next April will see a new phase in matters, and when that month returns, in 1748, you will be blessed with good fortune of the highest order." The Governor laughed at what I said, and exclaimed: "The name of the

Diarist expresses a negative belief.

Subsequent conversation.

French has gained renown, even at Delhi." I responded: "The reputation which you possessed, when M. Paradis set out on the expedition against Mylapore, has, since then, increased a hundred fold. Greater glory still awaits you. This is God's will. I can give you a written assurance to that effect." He said: "Many thanks. Much obliged to you for your kindness and good wishes"; and then he added: "How many days is it since you have written to M. Delarche, at Arcot?" My answer was: "Four."

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For which the Governor expresses his thanks.

He then desired me to place at the disposal of M. de la Tour the two men acquainted with the secrets of Cuddalore and Fort St. David, and capable of acting as guides to the army, whom I had, under his orders, procured from Sivanâga Reḍḍi. I accordingly did so in his presence, detached, also, Vîrâ Nâyakkan, and told M. de la Tour that he should obtain from them any information that he might require regarding the places named. I then made my obeisance to the Governor, and repaired to my areca-nut godown.

Governor directs him to send guides, to M. de la Tour.

He does so.

When I was with him, the Governor mentioned that, yesterday, he had received from France, by the mail from Mahé, a copy of the Gazette which contained the following news. The present king of Spain, Philip V, is the grandson of Louis XIV, the second son of the *Dauphin*, and the uncle of Louis XV, the reigning king of France. As the Dauphin's son, he was styled, at his birth, Duke of Anjou. When on his death-bed, the late king, who had no

Diarist's version of the news in the French Gazette, as related by the Governor.

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son, appointed him to the throne of Spain; the elder son of the Dauphin, who was the Duke of Burgundy, being destined for the kingdom of France. After the death of the king, however, the Spanish Ministers did not assent to this arrangement as to the succession. The consequence was that Louis XIV, the king of France, after waging war for seven years against that country, subdued it, and established the Duke of Anjou on the throne, as Philip V. This king died in 1746—month not known—leaving one daughter and two sons, the former of whom was given in marriage to the son of his elder brother, Louis XV, the present king of France, to whose daughters the latter were respectively wedded, an arrangement by which the connection, and the hereditary inheritance, were both confined to the same family. The Governor said: "There is a still further piece of news in the Gazette. The king of France has conquered the town and province of Saarburg, belonging to the kingdom of the Queen of Hungary. There is no city in Europe at present equal to the capital of this, which bears the same name. The order to put a stop to warlike operations will arrive by the next Company's ship, and before receipt of this, Fort St. David must be captured." I replied: "You may rest assured that what you say is a certainty. You may be sure that, for a feat such as this, the King and Company will confer on you a title of nobility, with all the privileges and emoluments attaching to

Who says that Fort St. David must be taken before he receives certain orders.

The reply made by diarist.

it." He exclaimed: "Many thanks." Just then, M. Paradis came in, on which I took leave of the Governor, and returned to my areca-nut store-house.

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Saturday, 11th March 1747, or 1st Panguni of Akshaya.—This afternoon at about 3, MM. de la Tour and Paradis visited the Governor, and bade him farewell, as they were about to set out on the expedition against Fort St. David. After taking leave of him, they proceeded to the gate, where their palanquins were in readiness. As soon as they got into them, I mentioned to the Governor that I had heard that mines filled with gunpowder had been laid by the enemy, in the garden at Manjakuppam, and in the road to Cuddalore, and told him that they should be warned of this. "Yes," he said, and bade his mace-bearer recall them. I interposed, saying: "They need not be summoned. I will personally inform them." He replied: "I must not leave it to you." They then returned, accompanied by the mace-bearer, and it thereupon occurred to me that he was courting misfortune once more. But God's will is inscrutable.

MM. de la Tour and Paradis set out, to attack Fort St. David.

A report, made by diarist to the Governor, leads to a temporary recall.

The force which left the fort at Pondichery this morning, at 5, with the object of investing Fort St. David, consisted of the following:—

Details of the force composing the expedition.

European soldiers and East Indians ...	1,000
Coffres	200
Company's peons	70
Nayinâr's peons	30
Mahé Sepoys	600
Âlattûr Poligar's men, with Vîrâ Nâyakkan.	200
Earth-diggers	305

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Besides these, there were many coolies, porters, and lascars; eight camels, eighty-five oxen; rice, four petards, fifty cannon,* two hundred ladders, milk, † five long tents, spades, axes, pickaxes, and other munitions of war, including powder, shot, and shells. Led by M. de la Tour, this force reached Ariyânkuppam, at about sunrise, halted there, and ate a meal. It resumed its march in the afternoon, and spent the night at Nallam Bâpu Reḍḍi's choultry.

Its movements.

This evening, a Muhammadan messenger from Ḥusain Ṣâḥib brought a letter from M. Delarche, and delivered it to the Governor, who said to me as follows: "Ḥusain Ṣâḥib sent for M. Delarche, and asked him whether, in the event of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân losing the Subah, we would afford him help. M. Delarche replied to him that he would write to me, and after ascertaining my views, furnish an answer. You know that when we went there, we sent an agent to negotiate for the purchase of the three villages of Kirumâmpâkkam, Pûtturai, and Odiyampaṭṭu, or at least one of them. M. Delarche writes that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has expressed his willingness to part with them, but asks a present worth more than Rs. 10,000. I have written

Governor receives a letter from M. Delarche.

Which conveys an inquiry from Husain Sahib.

And reports the price asked for certain villages.

* The word used in the diary is that applied to cannon, only. The numbers have probably been transposed, and the passage should apparently run "fifty petards, four cannon." The mention of "shells" shows that field-guns must have been taken.

† The Tamil word appearing in the original means "milk;" and nothing else. There is no clue as to what the correct word was.

authorizing him to attempt to acquire the villages, intimating that I was disposed to help Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and saying that I agreed to the condition as regards the present sought." As desired by the Governor, I paid the messenger Rs. 10.

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Governor tells diarist what his reply was.

Sunday, 12th March 1747, or 2nd Panguni of Akshaya.—The expedition, which halted at Nallam Bâpu Reḍḍi's choultry last night, left it this morning, and, as it crossed the boundary hedge surrounding Fort St. David, was attacked by a force consisting of Malrâjâ's men, those of Kaḍaiyam Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan, and of native captain Âdiyappa Nâyakkan, together with a few Englishmen and East Indians. The enemy was repulsed by the Mahé sepoys, the Company's peons, and those of the Âlattûr Poligar, and fled to Manjakuppam. Thereupon, the French marched to Uchimêḍu, on this side of the Pennâr, and encamped at Panḍil Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan's Agrahâram: The enemy, who consisted of Carnatic sepoys and a few Englishmen, halted on the opposite bank, at Chinnapaiyan Châvaḍi. The French fired four * field-pieces at the English, who ran away when the shot fell amongst them, and betook themselves to Manjakuppam. It is said that a French soldier pursued the enemy, in spite of the entreaties of his comrades not to do so, killed, with his musket, one of the Carnatic horsemen, and cut off three of the Carnatic sepoys, on

The expedition attacked, on crossing the boundary of Fort St. David.

English force repulsed.

The French advance to Uchimedu.

The English halt, after crossing the Pennar.

They thence retire to Manjakuppam.

* *Vide* note (*) on p. 422.

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And fire on the French, from the batteries there.

which a thousand of them fell upon and despatched him, and carried off his head. Since noon, the enemy have been firing steadily, at the French, from the Horse-tail, Red Hill, and Uppalvâḍi batteries with six pounder and three pounder guns.

The loss sustained by the attackers.

The damage done to our troops, up to 9 at night, was as follows: A mounted European guard was killed, two European soldiers were wounded, in the leg, by cannon balls; one gunner was killed, and two or three Mahé sepoys were injured. The loss on the opposite side is not known. I received news,

Practice made by the guns on either side.

every now and then, to the foregoing effect. It is said that the shot of the enemy strike 100 feet short whilst those of the French hit the mark. Reliable news will reach me to-morrow, when I will record further particulars.

Diarist ordered to procure, and arm, forty peons.

To-day, the Governor summoned me, and bade me procure forty peons ready for service, and furnish them with arms from M. Porcher's godown. I accordingly recruited twenty men from Âlattûr Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan's division, and twenty-four from Muttu Venkaṭapati Reḍḍi's; making in

He does so, and places part with M. Duquesne.

all forty-four. I supplied forty of them with muskets and swords, and, in accordance with the instructions of the Governor, told off thirty-four for duty with M. Duquesne, retaining the remainder with me.

M. Duquesne has sent the thirty-four men to escort rice, powder, ball, and other articles, which have been despatched to the expedition.

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This evening, four men, said to be spies in the service of the English, were brought to Pondichery. One of them was Chinna Sevi, brother of Periya Sevi; both of them being watchmen of Mûrtikuppam in the taluk of Azhisapâkkam, and supposed to have been communicating to the English secret intelligence concerning the French, ever since the war broke out. They were seized by the beach peons, and produced before M. Paradis, who detailed four others, to take them to Pondichery. When they were brought here, and the matter was reported, Chinna Sevi, the watchman of Mûrtikuppam, was made to lie on a table, received twenty-five strokes on his back and buttocks, and was interrogated as regards his conduct. He professed total ignorance, stated that the watchman of Mûrtikuppam was his brother, that the village of which he was the watchman was Maṇḍagappêḍu, belonging to the Bâhûr division, and averred that he had no hand whatever in communicating secret intelligence to the English, and that he was totally unaware as to how many men were there. It was about 11 when this inquiry was held. As the Governor ordered that the men should be imprisoned, I sent them in custody of the chief of the peons, to be taken to the court-house.

Capture of alleged spies.

One of these flogged in view to obtain a confession.

But without result.

The men imprisoned.

I then received a letter, written on palmyra leaf, which Sêshaiyan had sent from the camp. It ran as follows: "After crossing the Pennâr, the English soldiers and Carnatic sepoys gave battle to the French troops, who, however, fought so valiantly

Diarist receives news of a defeat of the English.

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that the enemy were obliged to retreat. They evacuated Chinnapaiyan Châvaḍi, and fled. On perceiving this, M. Paradis raised the spirits of the Coffres by giving them brandy to drink, and

And that the Coffres had escaladed a battery.

bade them escalade the Uppalvâḍi battery with ladders. Although there were 1,000 sepoys there, they lost their presence of mind at the sight of the Coffres, and when they attempted to discharge the guns, these missed fire. It was because fortune was on the side of the French that all this occurred. The Coffres then struck them with the butts of their muskets, hewed them down with their axes,

Which the French then occupied.

and stabbed them with their bayonets; on which they fled from the battery. The French then occupied it, and hoisting the white flag, fired three of the field-pieces found there. Please give a present of one rupee to the bearer of this agreeable news." This letter was handed to me, at about half-past 11.

Diarist awakes the Governor, to communicate this.

I at once repaired to the Governor, to inform him of its contents. Although he was then asleep on his bed, I awoke him, and communicated, in detail, what had taken place, to which he listened with much pleasure. He exclaimed: "Give two rupees

Conver- them. between them.

to the messengers. *Monsieur Ranga Piḷḷai, you must remain here, until this business is concluded. Eat and sleep here." I replied: "Very well, sir; I will do so. By God's favour, you have obtained the mastery. My prayer to Him is that you should succeed in all your undertakings." He said: "Your

* *Sic* in original.

presence here is indispensable, as people are constantly arriving with news. Powder, shells, etc., are being made ready for despatch. Please arrange for oxen and coolies, to transport them speedily." Promising that I would see to the matter, I repaired to my areca-nut store-house, where I had supper, which was sent to me from my house, and slept.

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Governor directs diarist to procure transport for ammunition.

Shortly after midnight, the Governor ascended to the batteries, went to the place where shells, etc., were being prepared, bade the men there to hasten with their work, and returned to bed at 2.

And personally hastens the preparation of shells, etc.

In the meanwhile, news was received that the French force had attacked the Company's garden at Manjakuppam, whither the English had retired on being defeated, and had occupied it. It was also reported that the enemy, seeing that the battery there had been captured, abandoned the remaining three and took to flight. It is said that two of the field-pieces brought from Pondichery have burst. However God's favour, and Fortune, being on their side, the French have become possessed of eighteen guns belonging to the English.

News of a further defeat of the English.

And he evacuation of all the batteries.

To-day, incessant sounds of cannon were heard from noon, up to half-past 6 in the evening. Subsequently—from 7 to 10—they were audible only now and then. There was no noise between 10 and 12; but, at midnight, a few reports were heard, and there were also some, at day-break.

Incessant sounds of cannon heard at Pondichery.

A Rajput, who has no calling, and is half-witted, went with our troops to the spot where the action

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Some English cannon balls brought in.

took place. He brought with him at about 8, three cannon balls, each weighing six pounds, and five others each weighing three, which had been fired by the English. Under the orders of the Governor, he was paid Rs. 8, at the rate of 1 rupee for each shot.

Letters from Arcot, for the Governor, and diarist.

At 4 this evening, messengers from Arcot brought a letter from M. Delarche, for the Governor; two from Muḥammad Tavakkal, one addressed to the Governor, and the other to me; and another from Vakîl Subbaiyan, to me. The following is the purport of the last of these:

V. Subbaiyan reports delivery of the presents for the Nawab.

"I reached Arcot at about sunrise, on Friday, 29th Mâsi [9th March]. On the same day, I waited on Ḥusain Ṣâḥib, and afterwards placed before the Nawâb the presents intended for him, together with the list of them. The broad-cloths were put on one side, and the other presents were opened out for his inspection. The Nawâb was very much pleased when he saw them. The broad-cloth and other articles were afterwards removed to the store-room.

And that Husain Sahib had an interview with M. Delarche.

I then departed, and paid another visit to Ḥusain Ṣâhib, with whom I conversed for about two Indian hours. After this, he had a private interview with M. Delarche. When I mentioned to them the presents delivered to the Nawâb, they were very much gratified.

At which he spoke of the destruction of his house at Madras.

Having conversed for a while, on general topics, Ḥusain Ṣâḥib broached the subject of the demolition of his house at Madras, and asked why this had been done. M. Delarche explained that the orders of the Governor were that all the buildings

around the fort there should be pulled down, and that his house consequently shared the fate of others so situated. At the same time, he said that, as compensation for the destruction of Ḥusain Ṣâḥib's house, any other at Madras that he might elect to have would be made over to him. He however exclaimed: 'As I have lost my house, I do not care for any other. I spent 7,000 pagodas on it.' M. Delarche replied; 'Very well; I will inform the Governor.' After this we took leave of him, and departed. I must mention that the affair of M. de Bury's son was also discussed with the Nawâb, who promised to despatch a horseman with a letter to Muḥammad Sharîf, in view to having him sent here. He further said that in the event of Muḥammad Sharif's delaying to do as desired, he would order the imprisonment of his wife and children, in the fort at Arni, and would, by taking such other steps as might be found necessary, see that he is brought here. As M. Cayrefourg * has diagnosed the illness of the Nawâb, he will administer medicine to him in the course of two or three days. When I suggested to M. Delarche that some presents should be given to Gulâb Sing, Appâji Paṇḍit, and Ratnâji Paṇḍit, he expressed his reluctance to comply, saying that he had no instructions from the Governor on the subject. Those three men take such a lively interest in our concerns, that it is but meet that they should be requited in some way."

And refused to take another in its stead.

States, further, the promise of the Nawab touching M. de Bury's son.

And reports what M. Delarche said, when presents to certain persons were suggested.

* This is as it appears in the French records at Pondichery.

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Another letter from Subbaiyan.

To-day, I received another letter from Subbaiyan dated, Arcot, 30th Mâsi [10th March], which ran as follows: "Muḥammad Tavakkal puts off payment of the money due on account of the dress of honour purchased of us, saying that he will write to Mâḥfuz Khân, at Trichinopoly, on the subject. His tone savours of Arcot, and is not what it was when he was at Pondichery. Having this in view, I have not yet met the draft on our shop at Lâlâpêṭṭai, in his favour."

This complains that M. Tavakkal is deferring a payment.

A third letter from Subbaiyan.

The following is the copy of a communication from Subbaiyan containing the substance of one from Delhi, received at Arcot:

It conveys news of the murder, at Delhi, of Umdat-ul-Mulk.

"Umdat-ul-mulk Amîr Khân Bahâdur, who went to pay a visit to the Emperor of Delhi, on the 7th of Zilhaze [2nd November 1746], was stabbed to death with a dagger, at the 'Alî Darwâja gate, during a quarrel with those employed on his establishment. The murderer was killed on the spot. When the Emperor received intimation of this, he ordered the attachment of all the houses, lands, and furniture, belonging to the deceased, on the score that arrears amounting to three crores of rupees were outstanding against him in the Subahs of Jehânabâd and Ilâ-abâd. As soon as the servants of Umdat-ul-Mulk came to know of the instructions issued, they at once secured the corpse in a box in his house, and with a view to preventing the execution of the order, placed guns, large and small, upon and around the building, and were ready to fight. When

Of the orders of the Emperor regarding his property.

Of the trouble which this occasioned.

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the Emperor was apprised of this, he summoned some of the noblest of his Amîrs, and, sitting on his throne, held a council for three days. The decision arrived at was that the followers of the deceased should be attacked, and driven away. But Khurshid-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdur Firâz Jang counselled otherwise, saying: 'There are in this city many who are poor, and several merchants and sowcars. Not only would they be ruined by the step which it is proposed to take, but men without number would be killed.' Agreeing with him, the Emperor directed that the furniture of the deceased should be sold, and that the arrears due to his establishment should be paid from the proceeds. Some azaris and Jemadars, of the highest rank, were deputed by 'Abd-ul Mansûr Khân Ṣafdar Jang Bahâdur, as arbitrators. Thereupon, on 22nd Zilhaze, corresponding to 5th Kârthigai [17th November 1746], the corpse was removed, and interred in the mosque of Mîr Kalîm Khân, at about four Indian hours before sunset. After this, when some of the Amîrs repaired to the residence of the deceased, to offer their condolences, the servants ranged themselves before them, and urged that they should take steps for the payment of their dues, as they had carried away the body for burial. They then disposed of articles of various kinds, which were in the house, to the value of 37* lakhs of rupees, which they paid to his* establishment. The

Of the directions then issued by the Emperor.

Of the burial of the deceased.

And of the sale of his property, to a very high value.

* The correctness of these statements appears questionable, but there is no doubt that they appear in the diary.

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The letter then refers to a settlement between K. Ni'amat-ullah Khan, and the Nizam.

Emperor waived his claim to the three crores of rupees due by the deceased.

"To turn to the affairs of Nizâm-ul-mulk and his followers: Khâjâ Ni'amat-ullâh Khân has effected a settlement with the Nizâm, through the instrumentality of Diwan Pûrnachand, who raised the rent gradually from 30 to 35, then to 40, and finally to 45 lakhs—some merchants undertaking to stand security for payment of the money. As regards the arrears, amounting to four lakhs, he is to pay two-thirds by the 10th of Saffeer, corresponding to 24th Mârgazhi [4th January] and the remainder as soon as the country is made over to him and he is presented with a dress of honour. As a reward for having negotiated this matter, the Nizâm invited Pûrnachand to his palace, had a private conversation with him for about two Indian hours, presented him with an elephant and howdah, and raised his salary by 2,000 rupees.

And the reward given to the Diwan, for effecting this.

It also states that Seringapatam has been leased.

"Seringapatam was leased out for 70 lakhs of rupees. The Râjâ of Mysore was apprised of this, and informed that in default of payment of the amount, not only would it be collected by force, but the province would be laid waste in such manner as the Nizâm might think fit. A hundred horsemen were sent with the letter intimating this. Moreover, the Nizâm publicly announced at a full darbar, that he intended proceeding soon to Mysore, Sîrpi, and Tanjore, where there were large accumulations of arrears, in order to collect the same.

That the Nizam will make a tour to collect arrears.

"Having heard that Mîr Nasim 'Alî Khân Bahâdur Asand Jang, the younger son of Niẕâm-ul-mulk, was on his way to Balâḍâ, Raghôji has started for Devakeḍai and Sândâ. A written communication to this effect was received by the Niẕâm. In a letter of 14th Saffeer, [28th Mârgazhi or 8th January] received by Anwar-ud-din Khân, at Arcot, he was informed that the Niẕâm, who had almost reached the Krishṇa, would cross it on Saffeer 15th [29th Mârgazhi or 9th January], on his way thither. The Nawâb is therefore busily engaged in bringing the accounts up to date, and is strict in recovering the outstanding arrears of taxes and other dues."

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And that the Nawab is therefore busy making up accounts, and collecting arrears

Monday, 13th March 1747, or 3rd Panguni of Akshaya.—The following information was given by Vîrâ Nâyakkan, who accompanied our expedition:

"Since I wrote to you regarding the capture, on Sunday night, of the battery at Uppalvâḍi, and the immediate evacuation by the enemy of the other three batteries, our force marched, at about 10, to Muttiyâlu Nâyakkan's garden and choultry. Leaving there, MM. Vincens and St. Martin, as well as the detachment under me, to guard the provisions, M. Paradis and the other officers advanced, with the soldiers and Mahé sepoys, to the Company's garden at Manjakuppam, and occupied it; the few of the enemy's men who were holding it, having fled. It was nearly dawn before soldiers and peons could be detailed for the protection of the whole of the garden, and sentinels could be placed at the gate,

V. Nayakkan tells diarist that the French occupied the garden at Manjakuppam.

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and on the roof of the house. Soon after sunrise, MM. Vincens and St. Martin, who were in charge of the supplies, received a letter, and thereupon they and my men started for the garden and arrived at 8.

And were about to attack Fort St. David.

The whole force was concentrated there. It was proposed to advance to Vaṇṇârpâḷaiyam, and thence attack the fort. With this object, all the troops, including our soldiers, Coffres, and Mahé sepoys, were paraded at the eastern entrance to the garden,

When the English fleet appeared in the offing.

and were about to start, when the sentinel on the flat roof of the house descried, at a distance, seven ships making for the anchorage, and announced this. Thereupon, M. Paradis went up, and looked at them. He said that they carried the English flag, and he arrived at the conclusion that they belonged to that nation. The principal officers of the force, such as MM. Paradis, de la Tour, St. Jacques, St. Martin, Vincens, and Solminiac, then held a Council

That it was thereupon decided that the force should return.

of war, at which it was decided that they should return, and not remain where they were, as the English were being reinforced, and Pondichery would be in a helpless condition should their ships proceed thither. Accordingly, at half-past 10,

That the supplies were then sent back to Pondichery.

they ordered that the supplies should return to Pondichery under the escort of my party, protected in rear by two bronze guns and three or

That the guns, ammunition, etc., were destroyed, or rendered useless.

four field-pieces, which had to be dragged by hand. We were directed to march by the inner track, which runs to the east of Bâhûr. Owing to the lack of porters, all the chests of powder had to be thrown

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into water; and the cannon were spiked, and similarly disposed of. Bags of rice were cut open, and the contents flung into wells. The casks of brandy were staved in, and the liquor allowed to flow away. The chairs, boxes, tables, and benches, and the houses in the garden were broken up, and destroyed. The ladders were burnt; and some of the buildings there were also set on fire. On our way back, we entered the Horse-tail battery, cut down the flagstaff, spiked the guns, cast them and the powder and cannon shot found there into the water, and set fire to the neighbouring huts. By the time that we had passed Marikrishṇâpuram, 200 foot soldiers, and 50 horsemen, had been despatched in pursuit of us by the English at Fort St. David, who had received news of our retreat, and were close on our heels. On this, our men turned, and gave chase to them, with the result that they fled. In the course of this encounter, however, one of our baggage carriers was killed, and one of my peons, named Venkaṭâchalam, who followed him, was also seized, deprived of his musket and clothes, and barely managed to escape with his life. Another, a European who had drunk some spirits, and owing to thirst, had lagged behind was walking along close to a line of palmyra trees, when a party of the enemy's horsemen cut off his head, and carried it away. Our men then pursued, and having driven them back as far as the river, returned. From Marikrishṇâpuram, the force

That this was also done at the Horse-tail battery.

That a party of pursuers was repulsed.

And that the troops finally reached Pondichery.

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came, without a halt, to Ariyânkuppam, and thence, on receipt of instructions from the Governor, returned to Pondichery, at 7, in the evening.

Two English ships appear off the anchorage.

Another noteworthy occurrence to-day was that at 1, this afternoon, two ships from Fort St. David were sighted, under sail, off the anchorage at Pondichery. The Government officials, including the members of Council and other great folk, at once girded up their loins, loaded the guns, and stood ready with lighted portfires. The ramparts, and all the batteries on the sea-shore, were fully manned by them. The Governor, too, set out with great promptitude, and ascending the rampart near the custom-house, walked to and fro, between the northern and southern batteries. However, after approaching the shore, the ships stood off to the north, and disappeared. The Europeans on the ramparts then descended. It was said that the people of Fort St. David, having heard that the English ship taken at Madras, and the *Neptune*, were on their way to Pondichery, laden with goods, must have despatched the two vessels with the view of capturing these. As soon as the English ships were sighted, a Council was held, and a letter, addressed to Madras, was despatched by a catamaran; a native captain being entrusted with it for delivery there.

Preparations made to resist them.

They, however, stand off again.

Apparently sent to capture two French ships.

Diarist's remarks as to the cause of the failure of the expedition.

If the English fleet had arrived but two days later, the French, who had advanced well equipped, and with great energy, would undoubtedly have captured Fort St. David, and have hoisted their white

flag on it. But as it is fated that the English shall fly their standard there for a while longer, a fleet appears to avert the impending catastrophe, just at the very time that the outlying fortifications have fallen, and the citadel itself is about to be captured. It is thus clear that man's efforts, however great, and his sagacity, however keen, cannot alter the course ordained by God, whose decrees will be carried out.

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Good luck of two French ships, on their way to Pondichery.

This evening, intelligence was received from Madras, to the following effect. Three days ago, on Saturday, the *Neptune*, and the English ship that was captured there, set sail for Pondichery. When they were off Covelong, they were obliged to anchor in the roads, as the wind was not in their favour. Seeing the ships lying there, a craft sailing northwards from the south informed them, but in jest, that five or six vessels, with the English flag flying, were at anchor off Fort St. David. They, however, took this in earnest, and getting under weigh, promptly returned to Madras. As it was the lucky time of the French, even false information proved of advantage. Chances, at times, turn out profitably for the fortunate. One may rest assured that such things happen in accordance with the decrees of God, and not as man proposes.

Remarks of diarist on this matter.

The force sent by the Poligar of Vetta-valam.

Tuesday, 14th March 1747, or 4th Panguni of Akshaya.—The Poligar of Vêṭṭavalam, who had been desired to send a contingent, supplied one composed of 200 matchlockmen, twenty bullet makers, and

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ten pikemen, who were led by four mounted men. This arrived at 5 this evening, bringing a letter from him, to the effect that 200 men were now being sent, and that the remaining 300 would follow, in charge of Vîrarâghava Aiyan. Having read this, I ordered these 200 men, and the 245 belonging to Âlattûr Venkaṭâchala Nâyakkan, to draw up in two ranks before the Governor's house, and salute him. When they went there, it was found that he had gone for a drive in a northerly direction . . . .* They were consequently instructed to proceed to the Cheṭṭi street, by which he was expected to return, and to stand in a row on either side of the road. When the Governor saw them, he asked me who they were. I explained everything to him, and he then requested me to provide them with lodging, and to give each a fanam a day, as batta, until their pay was fixed. He further said that he would tell me, on the morrow, what present should be made to their master. I then sent them away, with instructions that they should be accommodated in my garden, outside the town gate, whither they repaired at 7.

He promises more men.

His contingent, and another, parade before the Governor.

Who gives diarist instructions regarding them.

This evening, a ship, displaying the English flag, was sighted out at sea, to the southward. She anchored off Vîrâmpaṭṭaṇam.

An English ship sighted.

To-day, I sent out six Brâhman spies, in view to ascertain the news at Fort St. David, and paid them Rs. 20. The Governor had desired that

Diarist sends spies to Fort St. David.

* Blank in the original.

he should, every now and then, be informed of the intelligence received, and had requested me to depute suitable, and at the same time intelligent men, for the purpose of obtaining it. When conversing with me, he exclaimed: "Look you now, Rangappâ, what efforts we made, and how the operations were conducted. We had captured all the batteries, and the fort itself was about to fall into our hands; but, at that moment, their ships appeared. Had there been a delay of only two or three days in their arrival, the fort would have been taken with the utmost ease, the white flag would have been hoisted on it, and by that means I should have acquired great repute. All this has gone now, and my exertions have proved fruitless. Look at this." When, being unable to control his feelings, he said this, I replied: "You will not fail to gain the object on which you have set your heart. If the fort does not now fall into your hands, it will certainly, do so, two months hence. As, regards this, there can be no doubt. But what grieves me is that, owing to the arrival of the ships now, all the goods in Fort St. David will be put on board them, and carried away. If, on the other hand, the fort had been captured before they appeared on the scene, we could have taken possession of them. We have missed that chance, and it is this circumstance, alone, that afflicts me. I cannot say that I am sorry for the failure to capture the fort; for, sooner or later, it is certain to fall into our hands. There is no question about that. If you desire,

Governor bewails to diarist the failure caused by the arrival of the English fleet.

Diarist replies that the capture of Fort St. David is merely deferred.

And that he only regrets the probable removal of the goods stored there.

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I will make a statement to that effect, in writing. As it is decreed that it should be held by the English for a short time longer, the attempts which we have twice or thrice made, have failed. This, however, is of but small moment. When the month of May begins, not only shall we gain possession of the fort, but several circumstances will eventuate in our favour. That is certain. You need not bestow any thought on the matter." To this the Governor made answer: "This all very well. There is no doubt that what you say usually comes to pass, but, in this particular instance, your prediction has failed." I replied: "As soon as Madras was captured, I advised you that Fort St. David, also, should be seized, and said that it was a snake at the head of our bed, which must not be allowed to remain. I submitted to you, then and there, that, if you would but try, you could effect this with no trouble of any sort. I repeated this several times, although you paid no heed to my words. Again, when I urged that whilst our ships were still here, an attempt should be made in that direction, you remarked: 'Is it necessary to have the help of the fleet to take that fort,' and you sent it away to Anjengo and Tellichery. Any way, let the present and coming months pass; you will gain the place." When I had said all this, he was somewhat appeased, and remarked that what I said was true. He talked, for a long while, on the subject. My replies to him were, throughout, couched in such soothing

He foretells the fall of the fort, at an early date.

The Governor twits him with the failure of his predictions.

He retorts that he often advised an attack on Fort St. David.

And, particularly, when the fleet was available.

Governor apparently mollified.

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words as were likely to dispel the gloom overshadowing his thoughts. I took leave of him, saying that Heaven would favour him as I had predicted, and retired to my areca-nut godown. In the course of the conversation between us, I said another thing which I may mention. It was as follows: "After April, your affairs will prosper, day by day, and you will receive from the King a title of nobility, and a badge of honour. He asked how I knew this. I replied that a Brâhman astrologer had foretold that this would happen after April, and before the expiry of May. On hearing this the Governor laughed, and retired indoors.

Diarist tells the Governor the prediction of an astrologer.

At which, he laughed.

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PORTION OF A PLAN
SHOWING THE LIMITS OF MADRAS
AS FIXED BY GOVERNMENT
ON THE 2ND NOVEMBER 1798
ADYAR RIVER
ST THOME
Royapetta
BAY OF BENGAL.

APPENDIX.

Local tradition has it that Paradis made his attack at the point marked × × × in the accompanying extract from a map of the limits of Madras made, by order of Government, in 1798. It was at this point that, some years afterwards, a bridge connecting the old Coast Road with Madras was built. The ruins of this structure are still to be seen, and, when the river is low, often form an obstruction to those boating on the Adyar. At this spot there is, when the river falls to summer level, a ford which is a good deal used by the villagers living in the vicinity. It apparently has been formed by the remains of the bridge, and the silt which has accumulated on the up stream side of these, and as there is fairly deep water, both above and below, this crossing probably had no existence in Paradis' day.

But whether it had or not, the accounts of the battle given in the Diary itself, and in the extracts from Orme and Malleson, hereto appended, clearly show that the battle field was close to the sea, and certainly not where tradition has placed it.

A perusal of Malleson's accounts of the engagement would probably induce any one not well acquainted with the locality, to suppose that Paradis' men plunged—to use the word employed in *The Decisive Battles of India*—into a river of some depth, waded through its waters under the fire of a powerful array of cannon, and then had to scramble up a bank before delivering a volley, and charging.

The less picturesque description given by Orme admits, however, of another view of what occurred, and this appears to me possessing, as I do, an intimate knowledge of the scene of the fight, to be very much the more probable.

The map already referred to, which bears date almost exactly 51 years after the battle took place, shows the then position of the bar—the name usually given to the opening cut by the floods of the rainy season through the sand which, during the dry weather, silts up across the mouths of many of the smaller rivers on the coast of India, and, for the time being, blocks direct communication with the sea. At the present day, that of the Adyar is quite 600 yards south of where it was in 1798.

According to Orme, the exit of the river was, in 1747, about quarter of a mile south of St. Thomé. This would place it, approximately, at the point marked * on the map. All south of this, as far as the position which Paradis occupied prior to assuming the offensive, was a strip of sand varying, apparently, from 100 to 150 yards, or perhaps somewhat more, in width, and having on one side the sea, and on the other the backwater formed by the river. The distance that his force would have to traverse between the spot whence he began to advance, and that where his men first fell upon their opponents could not, as will be seen from a reference to the map, have been anything less than ¾ of a mile; whether the troops waded across, or took the more easy and expeditious line along the sands. There was nothing tactical about the movement. It was merely a bold rush, and as, to be effective, this must have been a rapid one, there could not have been any real wading on the part of those making it, although there may have been splashing through very shallow water. Paradis' force of Europeans, which clearly led—for Ranga Pillai, Orme, and Malleson, all agree in mentioning a volley, followed by an immediate charge—could not, as the number of men comprising it was so small, have possibly shown a wide front. As the system of attack in those days was advancing in ranks, usually double, and

not infrequently treble, or even more, it seems highly probable that the four divisions mentioned in the Diary consisted of parties in this formation, with a certain interval between them, and that as each reached the further bank of the river, it attacked a different portion of the opposing force, which had undoubtedly begun to take to flight on being assailed by the leading division.

I think, therefore, that there can be very little doubt that the advance was made along the strip of sand beside the sea. The bar, with the tide evidently low, could not have formed any appreciable obstruction, and the banks of the river must have been, as they are at the present day, exceedingly flat. There was, therefore, nothing along the route which I favour, to hinder the speed and force of the highly successful charge made by the French.

The square building shown in the map, and standing by itself close to the river, is a redoubt, which still exists in a ruined condition, and was not constructed until after the rendition of Madras to the English, in 1749. "The bungalow near the sea," referred to in the Diary, may probably have been the house immediately north of this, and owing to ignorance of the locality, Ranga Pillai may, possibly, have blundered as to its exact position.*

* Colonel H. D. Love, very recently, looked through what I have here written, and has suggested that "the bungalow by the sea" mentioned by Ranga Pillai occupied the site on which the redoubt alluded to by me was subsequently constructed. In support of this, he has quoted an extract from a letter addressed by the authorities at Fort St. David—then the seat of Government—to those at Fort St. George, reproduced *in extenso*, at page 415, Vol. II, of his *Vestiges of old Madras*, in which the Presidency at Fort St. David resolved "to fortifie the Moors bungalo" at San Thomé, under Robins' direction. This I consider conclusive, for "Moors" was the term always applied in those days by the English, to the Muhammadans, and there can, I think, be no doubt that the bungalow derived the name given to it from its having been Maphuz Khan's centre at the battle of Mylapore.

I may here mention that Colonel Love agrees with me in the view that I have expressed as to Paradis' line of attack.

J. F. P.

Professor Vinson's translation of the account of the battle, which appears at pp. 141–42 of *Les Français dans L'Inde*, differs, in some respects, from ours. This was noticed by me when dealing with the early proofs of Vol. III, and the portion of our translation relating to the engagement was, thereupon, specially compared again with the Tamil text from which it had been made. I personally checked this examination wherever anything differing from what appeared in Professor Vinson's work was discovered, or I considered the translation put before me in any way open to doubt, and our renderings were found to be correct. Professor Vinson presumably used the copy made by M. Ariel. We availed ourselves of the *actual* original of the Diary as far as it went (see p. xvi, Vol. I), and when this failed, we had to depend on a copy of M. Montbrun's copy. The translation of all that is included in Vol. III has been checked anew with the original of that gentleman's copy, and any differences found have been corrected. M. Ariel's copy may have been the more accurate of the two, but there is nothing to show that it was.

J. F. P.

Malleson's History of the French in India.

"Meanwhile Dupleix had not been less indefatigable at Pondichery. The accounts he received as to the reality and earnestness of the attack on Madras, had convinced him likewise that persistence in a purely defensive line of action would be highly impolitic, and he had determined to effect a diversion by threatening the enemy's camp from the side of Pondichery, with the view of compelling him to raise the siege. The command of the detachment which was to effect this end, and which numbered about 230 Europeans and 700 native sepoys, he entrusted to Paradis, the most capable officer under his orders.

The news of the march of this detachment reached Maphuz Khan immediately after the defeat of his cavalry by the Madras garrison. He appears to have instantly taken a resolution worthy of a greater commander. This was to march with the bulk of his force to intercept and destroy that small detachment, before an opportunity should be afforded it of opening communications with the garrison of Madras. With this view he marched to St. Thomé, and took up a position on the northern bank of the little river Adyar, which runs into the sea on its southern side, and which it would be necessary for Paradis to cross in order to communicate with Madras.

On the morning of November 4, Paradis came in sight of the host of the Nawab, numbering nearly 10,000 men, posted on the north bank of the river, their position covered by guns. He had no guns, but he was a man of a stern and a resolute nature, prompt in his decisions, and losing no time in carrying them into effect. He was little startled by the sight before him. His orders were to open communication with Madras, and these he could not carry out by either halting or retreating. He therefore resolved to cut his way through the enemy. Without waiting to reconnoitre, he dashed into the river, which he knew to be fordable, scrambled up the bank in face of the enemy's guns, then halting to deliver one volley, ordered a charge. The effect was electric. The enemy at once gave way, and retreated in terrible confusion into the town, from behind the defences

of which they attempted to offer a new resistance. But Paradis was not the man to leave half his work undone. He followed the enemy with vigour, and halting in front of the town, poured in volley after volley on the masses jumbled together in the crowded streets. These had but one thought—to escape. Their very numbers, however, impeded their movement in any direction, and it was not until after many of them had fallen, that they succeeded in extricating themselves from their position. Hardly had they accomplished this, however, when they found themselves assailed by another enemy. The garrison of Madras had hastened on the first intimation of the approach of Paradis to march to his aid. They arrived in time to intercept the retreating masses of the Nawab's army, and to convert their defeat into an utter and demoralising rout. Their general, Maphuz Khan, had fled on the first charge of the French; the body of men who formed his army, without a leader, and terror-stricken by their crushing overthrow, at once gave up all thoughts of gaining Madras, and did not halt till they had traversed many miles from that place in the direction of Arcot."

Malleson's The Decisive Battles of India.

"Maphuz Khan had lost seventy men by the fire of the French guns. He had raised the siege and had taken up a position two miles to the westward of Madras. He was there, when, on the day following his discomfiture, he learned that a French force, marching from Pondichery to Madras, would arrive at St. Thomé, four miles to the west of that place, the following morning. By this time big talk and bluster had succeeded the panic of the previous morning. Maphuz Khan, who had not been one of the fugitives, and who probably attributed the defeat of his soldiers to a sudden but ordinary panic, was burning to avenge himself on the audacious Europeans. He immediately, then, took a step worthy of a great commander. Resolving to intercept the approaching force before it should effect its junction with the garrison of Madras, he marched that

evening (3rd November) on the town of St. Thomé, and took up a strong position on the northern bank of the river Adyar, at the very point where it would be necessary for the French to cross it, and lined the bank with his guns.

The detachment which was approaching consisted of 230 Europeans and 700 sepoys. There were no guns with it. But its commander, Paradis, was a man to supply any deficiency. A Swiss by birth, and an engineer by profession, Paradis had been selected by Dupleix, in the dearth of senior officers of the military service, for command in the field. Paradis amply justified the discernment of the French Governor, for he had been born with the qualities which no soldier can acquire—decision of character, calmness, and energy.

The movements of Maphuz Khan had not been so secretly carried out as to escape the notice of the French within Madras. Aware of the approach of Paradis, and divining the motives of Maphuz Khan, d'Espréménsil had at once despatched a messenger to the former, recommending him to defer an engagement with Maphuz Khan until the garrison of Madras should have time to operate on his rear. But events would not allow Paradis to delay the contest. At daybreak on the morning of the 4th November, that officer approached the south bank of the Adyar. He beheld the whole space between the north bank of that river and the town of St. Thomé—a space about a quarter of a mile in length—occupied by the hostile army—the bank itself as far as eye could reach lined with their guns, each gun well-manned. There they were, horse, foot, and artillery, more than 10,000 in number, barring the road to Madras.

If Paradis entertained any doubt as to the motives which swayed the leader of the masses on the northern bank, a discharge of artillery directed against his advancing troops quickly dispelled it. Under such circumstances, to await on the south bank the promised co-operation appeared to him a proceeding fraught with peril. A halt where he was would be impossible, for he was under the fire of the enemy's guns; he must fall back, even though it should be only a few hundred yards. Such a movement would, he thought, expose him, unprovided with

guns, to a charge from the enemy's horsemen, eager to avenge their defeat of two days' previously. His Europeans were fighting for the first time on Indian ground, his native troops were raw levies. With such material, could he, dare he, encounter the risk of retiring? On the other hand, a bold advance would inspire his men and discourage the enemy.

Such thoughts coursed through the brain of Paradis as his men were advancing under fire. His resolution was immediately taken. His bold spirit had solved in an instant the problem as to the method to be pursued when European troops should be pitted against the natives of India. That method was, under all circumstances, to advance to close quarters. With a cool and calm decision, then, he plunged without hesitation into the waters of the Adyar, and led his infantry to attack the three arms of the enemy, ten times their superior in numbers.

Up to the moment of reaching the south bank of the Adyar, the French force had not suffered very much from the fire of the enemy's guns. The aim had been bad and the guns had been ill-served. They were still, however, dangerous, and the troops felt that their capture would decide the day. Without drawing trigger, then, they followed Paradis to the bank of the river; then, wading through it, delivered one volley and charged. The effect was electric. The Indian troops, unaccustomed to such precipitate action, gave way, abandoned their guns, and retreated as fast as they could into the town. The walls of the town had many gaps in it, but the Indians had taken the precaution to cover these on the western face with palisades. Behind these palisades they now took refuge, and from this new position opposed a strong front to the advancing force. The French, however, did not allow them time to recover the spirit which alone would have made a successful defence possible. Advancing and always advancing, in good order, and firing by sections as they did so, they forced the enemy to abandon these new defences. The defeat now became a rout. Falling back on each other in the narrow streets of the town, the enemy's horse and foot became mixed in hopeless confusion, exposed, without being able to return it, or

to extricate themselves, to the relentless fire of the French. Maphuz Khan himself, mounted on an elephant, had made his escape early in the day. His troops were less fortunate. Their very numbers impeded their movements. When, at last, in small bodies, in twos and threes, they made their exit from the northern gate and attempted to hurry away with the baggage and camp equipage that yet remained to them, they found themselves face to face with the body of Europeans sent by d'Esprémésnil from Madras to co-operate with Paradis. Then they abandoned everything, baggage, horses, oxen, rams, even hope itself, and fled across the plain in wild confusion. The French were too much occupied in plundering their camp to pursue them further. But the terror which had struck into their souls was proved by the fact that they made no attempt to unite in masses till they had covered many miles in the direction of Arkat, and then only to fall back with all possible speed upon that capital of the Karnatak."

Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan.

"Maphuze Khan, immediately after this defeat, collected all his troops into one camp, about two miles to the westward of the town: but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took possession of St. Thomé, a town situated about four miles to the south of Madras.

This place, once in the possession of the Portuguese, and during the time of their prosperity in India famous for the splendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long since been reduced to a town of little note or resort, although it still gives title to a Portuguese bishop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall: a river ran into the sea from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maphuze Khan took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river opposite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horse and foot, drawn up on the other side, to oppose their passage. It had been concerted that a party of 400 men should march from Madrass, and attack the Moors on the northern side of the town, at the same time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the south: but the troops from Madrass failed to arrive in time. The other detachment nevertheless advanced without hesitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they passed it without loss, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as usual, was very ill served. As soon as they gained the opposite bank, they gave a general fire of their small arms, and then attacked with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a show of resistance from behind some pallisadoes which they had planted in different parts of the south side. The French continued to advance in good order, and no sooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; when the horse and foot falling back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of the town, the confusion of the throng was so great, that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the westward. Their General, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard of the Carnatic was displayed, was one of the first who made his escape. They were scarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madrass arrived, and assisted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were some valuable effects: many horses and oxen, and some camels were likewise taken. It is said, that the French troops murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. This defeat struck such a terror into the Nabob's army, that they immediately retreated some miles from Madrass, and soon after returned to Arcot."

NOMINAL INDEX.

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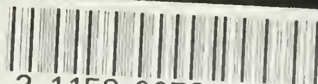
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